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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to generate a library of 198 specimen records of the behavior of 24 3-year-old children in different socioeconomic environments: low income urban, low income rural, and middle income urban. (A specimen record provides a continuous narrative in natural language of the behavior of an individual together with the environmental context of that behavior.) Following a period of adaptation visits, each child was observed at home for 40-50 minutes from seven to 10 times. The specimen records for each observation were divided into Environmental Force Units, defined as a goal-directed activity initiated by another person (agent) in the child's environment. (For example, one unit might consist of the mother, or agent, telling the child to put on shoes and socks.) The rate of Environmental Force Units per minute for each child was figured, and analysis showed that middle urban children had the highest mean rates. The percent of units in which the mother acted as an agent was determined, and middle urban mothers had the highest percentage. Appendixes include a typical observer's log of visits and a specimen record of a low income rural child. (DR)

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An Ecological Study of Three-Year-Olds At Home
FINAL REPORT

Maxine Schoggen[1]

The importance of early experience on the cognitive and social development of young children has been documented extensively in research on the effects of environmental stimulation and deprivation on both animals and humans. The rediscovery of Piaget has been one impetus to this interest in early development. Harlow's work with animals and Bruner's work with young children and babies provide support for the idea that the experience of developing organisms is crucial to subsequent behaviors. Bruner (1967) states ...."our knowledge of the world is based on a constructed model of reality, a model that can only partially and intermittently be tested against input [p. 319]." At the present time not enough is known to determine what a sufficiency of experience or input is or what the qualities of experience should be to provide optimal development.

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The fact that poverty is a condition of life for millions of people has made this research in cognitive and social development of central importance to current social issues. The concern about the specific effects of poverty on the young child has brought with it compensatory education and research programs directed to disadvantaged children. Despite this extensive interest LaVeck in a preface to a recent monograph (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968), states .... "there is neither a broadly shared conceptual perspective on the meaning and nature of psychosocial deprivation nor a well-established and comprehensive knowledge concerning its consequences." This excellent report undertook a broadbased assessment of the problems of understanding the effects of poverty on the development of individuals.

The current literature reveals this uncertainty about how to proceed with analysis is fhe environment. In the first chapter of the report mentioned above the following quotation states the problem in detail:

> The usual accommodation to this state of affairs, the reliance upon such descriptive categories as race and class, while useful for locating target populations and organizing intervention programs, does not contribute to analytic understanding.
>
> The latter aim will in all likelihood be furthered when environmental analyses in experience-relevant, or psychologically relevant, or functional terms are more advanced. Toward this end certain distinctions would seem to be important, distinctions which make clear that the environment is best treated as problematic rather than taken as self-evident, as multifaceted rather than homogeneous, as varying rather than static, as having depth rather than only surface, and as being extended over time rather than being cross-sectional.
>
> Perhaps the distinction most crucial to the disciplines jointly involved in the present enterprise is that between what might be called the distal environment and the proximal environment.

> This distinction refers to a dimension of environmental analysis ranging from the (proximal) immediate, psychologically defined context of functional stimulation, to the more remote (distal) description expressed in non-psychological language systems. What many of the authors are referring to as "crude" or "gross" environmental variables, e.g., social class, are more properly considered as distal variables, variables whose relationship to behavior must be considered to be mediated by proximal variables. Thus, race or socioeconomic status or biological defect or population density or educational bureaucracy are environmental descriptions relatively remote from direct psychological or experiential significance. That they have implications for the latter is quite clearly true--that is why they have often been used as relatively effective independent variables. But their implications can only be taken to be probabilistic in nature: to be Negro in the United States, involves a high probability of being exposed to a stigmatizing interpersonal environment. The crucial point is that behavior and development are invariant with the latter, the proximal environment of stigmatizing stimuli, rather than with the former, the distal environment of being a Negro.

Relatively few writers have attempted to assess the problems of the disadvantaged in terms of the proximal environment. However Gray et al., (1966) in their work on the Early Training Project suggested some possible conditions of continuing experience of the child from disadvantaged circumstances which might be related to the problems these children face on entering the broader culture. They suggested that the reinforcement patterns in the lives of these children might differ from those patterns in more advantaged homes. The child from the low socioeconomic home may be: 1) receiving a smaller total amount of positive reinforcement, 2) receiving a smaller proportion of verbal reinforcement, particularly elaborated verbal responses, 3) receiving less reinforcement from the mother, more from peers and siblings, 4) receiving more reinforcement for inhibitory than exploratory behavior from the

mother or mother surrogate, and 5) receiving more diffuse reinforcement than reinforcement specifically directed toward the child's performance. It was in an effort to produce basic data which could be used to provide information such as this that the current study was undertaken.

It has been the goal of this study to generate a library of specimen records of the behavior cum environment of young children in different socioeconomic groups. The raw data provides an opportunity to analyze the proximal environment. It was also the purpose of this study to begin an analysis of these specimen records in terms of the behavior of others toward the subjects.

Procedures

The Specimen Record

The specimen record methodology was devised by Barker and Wright (1951, 1954). A specimen record provides a continuous narrative in natural language of the behavior of an individual together with the environmental context of that behavior. For the present study trained observers recorded their own verbal notes using a shielded microphone and a small battery powered tape recorder (Schoggen, 1964). Eleven different observers participated over a period of two years, however, at any one time no more than five observers were available.

As is standard procedure in making specimen records, several adaptation visits were made by observers before regular observations were begun. The observer explained to the mother that she would pretend to observe during these visits in order to get the child used to her presence.

All the mothers seemed to recognize the importance of such visits. These initial adaptation visits were also used to obtain information needed to describe the house, the furnishings, and the objects available to the children.

Usually the presence of the observer appeared to have little effect after a period of adaptation. Cues used by the observer to determine how much effect she was having were found in behavior of both adults and children. Our records include instances in which a mother acted in an unnatural way, apparently to impress the observer, only to be revealed by the child's quizzical look or incredulous question. There also is frequent evidence that the nonparticipating, unresponsive, noninterfering observer did not inhibit the child's free expression, even of socially quite unacceptable feelings. It was not unusual to observe a child look around to see if anyone was watching and if no one were (except the observer) the child promptly would be seen to do something forbidden like steal a cookie, or hit baby brother. However, whenever the presence of the observer seemed to be affecting the behavior, this was specifically mentioned in the context of the observation itself.

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Results of a variety of studies have suggested that different concrete situations are likely to elicit specific kinds of behaviors. Because mealtime elicits a high frequency of social interaction, observations were planned for mealtime settings or other settings in which eating took place. This was not always possible because of the irregularity of this kind of event in the low income families. One difficulty and perhaps one finding, suggested also by others in the field (Deutsch 1967), is

that some families do not regularly schedule specific behavioral situations for children, i.e., there is not a time to eat, a place to play, a time to go to bed. No systematic attempt was made to discover how regularly specific situations were provided for the children under observation, but observers did make repeated attempts to observe at different times of the day in an effort to find a time when the family might have a meal. In addition, all children were observed in some free play situations.

In every case the observer endeavored to wait for situations in which the mother was present at least as a potential agent. However, in one low income family, the Tyndale family, the mother regularly sent the children outside early in the day and locked the door. Repeated visits on the part of the observers at different times of the day indicated that this was the customary pattern of the family and therefore the usual experience of the children; the mother simply was not readily available to any of the children. Because this was a family in which four of the children had already failed in school it seemed worthwhile to pursue the attempt to observe the child even though mother-child relationships were virtually unobservable.

Two observers were assigned to each family; they alternated visits. The observers attempted to make two observations a week once adaptations were completed. The goal was a total of eight different observational visits. This normally would have completed the series of observations for any one family in six to eight weeks. Several series were completed in six weeks time, but in some families it took as long as six months to

complete the series. In all but one situation, black observers were used in low income black homes and white observers in low income white homes. In the middle income homes observers of both races observed in black homes, simply because there were not enough black observers available.

The trained observer watched one subject for a period of time, usually not longer than 40-50 minutes, making verbal notes on the behavior of the child as well as important features of the environment. Particular notice was paid to actions directed to the child by the agents in the environment. Immediately after completion of the observational period, the observer returned to research headquarters and used these field notes to dictate a detailed moment-by-moment description of everything the child did and said and everything done or said to the child by environmental agents. This dictated report was then transcribed by a typist, edited by the observer, reviewed by another staff member, and then re-edited by the original observer, before being final typed. All names in the record were coded to protect privacy. In the final form of the specimen record every action was placed in a separate paragraph to facilitate analytical procedures. This is illustrated in the following sample of about two minutes from one specimen record of one of our three-year-old children from a low income rural home. The complete observation can be found in Appendix A.

Rachel Tweed lived in a rural area. The three room house was home for nine people. There was no indoor plumbing; water was brought to the house in buckets from a creek which ran through the property. The house was always clean and tidy and the children had a few toys which

were kept in baskets or boxes when not in use. Present during this observation were Rachel, 3, Randy, 4, Robert, 2, Vera, 1, and the mother. The other three children were at school; the father was at work. The children were in and out of the kitchen and the living room at this point in the observation. Time notations indicate elapsed time in minutes and seconds from the beginning of the observation. This was observation number eight for Rachel.

Rachel eagerly grabs the pack of saltines on the table.

She reaches in and takes a few out.

At this point, Randy walks into the kitchen with his plate.

Rachel says something to Randy referring to the crackers.

Randy reaches over playfully and grabs Rachel around the shoulders.

He smacks her once with his fists on her left arm.

Rachel laughs.

She wiggles free.

As she does so she yells out, "Yay," in a taunting way.

She runs into the living room.

6'00" Rachel runs over to the chair where she was sitting before.

She sits down.

She takes a bite of cracker, dropping the larger part of the cracker she was holding onto the floor.

Robert runs over to Mrs. Tweed.

He says something to her, indicating Rachel with his outstretched arm.

Mrs. Tweed looks up.

She says soothingly to Robert, "She'll give you one."

She says commandingly to Rachel, "You give him one of those crackers. You can't eat all them."

Rachel says nothing but immediately grabs all the crackers that she had on the table.

She holds them to her chest possessively with both hands.

She stares hostilely at Robert.

Robert looks as if he has just gotten a new idea.

He runs around the stove past Rachel into the kitchen.

Randy is still in the kitchen.

6'30" Robert leans partway out of the kitchen into the living room.

He says something pleadingly to Mrs. Tweed that sounds to me like, "More."

Mrs. Tweed seems to be able to understand or interpret whatever Robert says. His verbalizations have increased in number and somewhat in clarity since the first observation but they are still largely incomprehensible to me.

Mrs. Tweed gets up from her chair.

She walks around the chair into the kitchen almost resignedly, as if this is a great bother to her.

Everyone is now out of the room except Rachel and me.

Rachel puts her cracker down on the table.

She spreads them out using both hands, very carefully and neatly as if she is trying to make a pretty design.

One hundred ninety-eight specimen records were brought to final form. They range from 10 to 47 minutes in length, totaling 5,477 minutes of observation. Eight different observations per child were the usual number though there are as few as seven for one family which moved

unexpectedly and as many as ten for two families in which there were several very short specimens.

Population Sample

Twenty-four children in their fourth year of life represent the sample for this study. Eight children were from low income, low education, urban homes (LU); eight were from low income, low education, rural homes (LR); and eight were from middle income, high education, urban homes (MU). Both urban groups were composed of an equal number of black and white children; there were no black families in the rural area used in this study. Half of each group were male, half female.

Low income families were those in which the family income fell at or below the income level recommended by the Office of Economic Opportunity as a cutting point for Head Start Services for families of a given size. In most of the low income families both parents had quit school below the high school level. The occupation status of the low income fathers on the Hollingshead (1965) scale were rated as six and seven. The middle income families were those in which the income was well above the average for the nation; Hollingshead ratings for the fathers' occupation here were one and three. All fathers had completed college; most had gone beyond this level. The mother in all cases had some college experience; most had completed a college degree.

The families were matched, insofar as possible, across groups for family size and position of the subject child in the family. Both large and small families are represented in all three sub-samples. A summary of the population characteristics is found in Appendix B.

Some of the low income families were contacted first by a social worker who, in the process of looking for children for one of the preschools, found families who had three-year-old children. All of the rural children were first contacted in this way. Half of the urban low income families were also contacted this way but the other four were contacted first by the writer accompanied by one of the observers, who searched the low income sections of the city looking for children of about the right age.

On the first visit it was explained to all mothers that the observers were interested in learning more about three-year-old children. It was explained that the observers would be a nuisance as they would want to come into the home many times. Further, the attempt was made to insure that the mother understood there was nothing in the plan which would help the subject child in any way, that the observers were to be there to learn about three-year-olds. Permission to come to the home to observe was then requested. This permission was granted in all cases. After permission was granted, those mothers who did not have older children in one of the DARCEE preschools were then told that they would receive a small sum of money as an expression of appreciation.

Observations had been made extensively in middle income homes but few observers had ventured into extremely low income homes. There was some question whether, in fact, observers would be permitted entrance to some homes. The response in the low income homes was warm and receptive. It was gratifying to note that only twenty-seven mothers had to be contacted in order to provide the sample of twenty-four; in one case, the child was already over age; in one case the family was judged to be too middle income

to be part of the low income group; and in the third case, the mother took a job after the observers had begun to work and felt she could not comfortably manage the situation with her new responsibilities. In many cases observers felt sure that the mother did not understand what was being done, but had welcomed the idea of helping with research by allowing observers to watch her child.

A log of visits to the homes was kept by the observers to keep a systematic record of the length of time required to complete a series and to provide information about the nature of visits. A summary of this log can be found in Appendix C.

Analysis

Since the specimen records were an attempt to preserve the behavior stream of the child in the environment, the first step of analysis required that the specimen records be divided in a psychologically meaningful way which at the same time fulfilled the requirement of being a procedure which did not destroy the behavior stream. The major focus of this study has been on the impact of others in the child's environment upon the child. Accordingly, a system of unitization based on the action of others which was devised in an earlier study (Schoggen, 1963) was applied to the records.

This system utilizes a basic unit called an Environmental Force Unit (EFU) which is defined as any action directed by a social agent in the child's environment, 1) vis-a-vis the child, 2) toward an end-state or goal specified or implied for the child, and 3) recognized as such by the child. The basic property of the EFU is persistance in one psychological direction. So long as an agent continues working toward a single end-state

for the child, a single EFU is marked as continuing. Only the observable and successful attempts on the part of agents in the environment to penetrate the child's psychological world are included. Units are titled by identifying the agent of the unit first and then stating the goal or end-state implied by the behavior of the agent for the child, e.g., mother: S (subject) to put shoes and socks on. Appendix A shows EFU markings on the right hand side of the page. Inactive parts of the environment and environmental action which is not directed to the child as well as unsuccessful attempts to contact the child are not included. Units may occur singly or in overlapping and complex patterns. Precise criteria for unit identification have been developed and are published elsewhere (Schoggen, 1963).

Each of the specimen records was unitized by two analysts working independently using duplicate copies of the record. Markings for the units are in the form of encompassing brackets. (See Appendix A.) These two judgments were reviewed by one of the two analysts who tabulated analyst agreement and reconciled the two judgments.

One hundred ninety-two of the 198 specimen records were used to determine the agreement between pairs of unit markers, the remaining six records were used for training. The estimate of accuracy was determined by a formula used by Wright (1967) in a similar situation. The average estimate of accuracy between all pairs of analysts was 78 per cent.

Results

The principal accomplishment of the first phase of the study is the compilation of 198 specimen records of three-year-old children in their own homes. This represents, to our knowledge, the most extensive collection of observations of children living in low income homes and a middle income comparison group. This library of records has potential for a wide variety of uses. The records have been duplicated to be available for others to use. As an archive of primary data they will be more valuable in and of themselves than any analytical statistical procedure which might be devised at this time. When more sophisticated analyses can be developed, these specimen records will be available for such analyses. A complete list of the specimen records available is listed here to provide an adequate understanding of what is included in each sub-sample. A summary of minutes of observation, together with information about the number of children in each family can also be found in Appendix B.

Catalog of Specimen Records Available:

24 Children in Three Sub-Groups

Subject	Code No.	Date	Time	No.of Pages	Observer
Low Urban					
Owen Edward Culster	01.01	12/ 6/66	4:40-4:54 PM	12	B. McCandless
	01.02	12/13/66	5:45-5:58 PM	13	B. McCandless
	01.03	12/14/66	5:40-5:50 PM	17	J. Reeves
	01.04	1 / 9/67	4:30-4:44 PM	25	J. Reeves
	01.05	1 /30/67	3:12-3:30 PM	24	B. McCandless
	01.06	2 /13/67	3:29-3:50 PM	28	B. McCandless
	01.07	2 /28/67	3:20-4:00 PM	51	D. Schoggen
	01.08	3 / 2/67	2:12-3:42 PM	45	B. McCandless
	01.09	3 / 7/67	3:20-3:52 PM	56	D. Schoggen
	01.10	3 /21/67	1:30-1:50 PM	33	B. McCandless
Francine Zimbalist	02.01	3 /22/67	4:20-5:00 PM	44	D. Schoggen
	02.02	4 /20/67	5:16-5:46 PM	39	B. McCandless
	02.03	5 /16/67	5:25-5:54 PM	40	B. McCandless
	02.04	6 /26/67	5:10-5:25 PM	17	D. Schoggen
	02.05	7 /18/67	5:00-5:50 PM	46	D. Schoggen
	02.06	7 /25/67	4:50-5:03 PM	15	B. McCandless
	02.07	7 /28/67	5:47-6:19 PM	42	D. Schoggen
	02.08	8 /10/67	4:20-4:45 PM	19	B. McCandless
Zane Rubens	03.01	4 /12/67	11:30-12:05 PM	47	D. Schoggen
	03.02	4 /21/67	11:25-11:40 AM	29	C. Hogan
	03.03	4 /25/67	11:45-12:16 PM	44	D. Schoggen
	03.04	5 /13/67	11:55-12:26 PM	37	D. Schoggen
	03.05	6 / 6/67	11:35-11:53 AM	26	D. Schoggen
	03.06	6 / 9/67	11:20-12:04 PM	35	M. Scott
	03.07	6 /21/67	11:25-11:53 AM	15	M. Scott
	03.08	6 /27/67	11:40-12:27 PM	44	M. Scott
Eric Taylor	04.01	10/ 6/67	11:44-12:14 PM	29	M. Sweeney
	04.02	10/13/67	12:28-12:54 PM	21	M. James
	04.03	10/19/67	12:20- 1:00 PM	25	M. Sweeney
	04.04	10/25/67	12:15-12:45 PM	26	M. James
	04.05	10/27/67	12:15-12:33 PM	27	M. Sweeney
	04.06	11/ 2/67	11:40-12:14 PM	33	M. Sweeney
	04.07	11/ 8/67	12:25-12:56 PM	37	M. Sweeney
	04.08	11/17/67	11:06-11:35 AM	50	M. James
	04.09	12/ 1/67	12:15-12:45 PM	33	M. Sweeney

Catalog of Specimen Records Continued

Subject	Code No.	Date	Time	No.of Pages	Observer
Low Urban					
Ella Parkes	05.01	10/30/67	1:00- 1:25 PM	32	M. James
	05.02	12/ 4/67	12:25-12:52 PM	29	M. Sweeney
	05.03	12/ 5/67	11:45-12:17 PM	29	M. Sweeney
	05.04	12/ 6/67	11:55-12:26 PM	45	M. James
	05.05	12/ 9/67	12:55- 1:24 PM	43	M. James
	05.06	12/10/67	11:50-12:20 PM	33	M. Sweeney
	05.07	12/11/67	12:05-12:41 PM	63	M. James
	05.08	12/14/67	9:25- 9:47	23	M. Sweeney
Carolyn Usher	06.01	2 /23/68	11:41-12:10 PM	47	M. James
	06.02	2 /29/68	12:13-12:45 PM	43	M. James
	06.03	3 / 5/68	11:40-12:30 PM	31	M. Sweeney
	06.04	3 / 8/68	10:55-11:27 AM	35	M. Sweeney
	06.05	3 /12/68	12:15- 1:30 PM	38	M. Sweeney
	06.06	3 /13/68	1:32- 1:03 PM	32	M. James
	06.07	3 /14/68	12:15-12:47 PM	38	M. Sweeney
	06.08	3 /21/68	12:42- 1:13 PM	54	M. James
Paula Filbert	07.01	3 /25/68	11:55-12:18 PM	36	D. Schoggen
	07.02	4 / 4/68	11:50-12:33 PM	55	E. Brown
	07.03	4 / 8/68	11:55-12:24 PM	38	E. Brown
	07.04	4 /11/68	11:54-12:15 PM	34	D. Schoggen
	07.05	4 /15/68	11:54-12:21 PM	38	E. Brown
	07.06	4 /18/68	11:53-12:13 PM	37	D. Schoggen
	07.07	4 /22/68	11:50-12:18 PM	41	D. Schoggen
	07.08	5 / 2/68	11:45-12:20 PM	51	D. Schoggen
George Pedigo	08.01	10/24/68	12:50- 1:16 PM	37	E. Brown
	08.02	11/ 5/68	12:38- 1:04 PM	50	J. Poole
	08.03	11/ 8/68	12:32- 1:00 PM	35	E. Brown
	08.04	11/12/68	1:10- 1:40 PM	58	J. Poole
	08.05	11/13/68	11:20-11:48 AM	36	E. Brown
	08.06	11/20/68	1:20- 1:50 PM	54	J. Poole
	08.07	11/26/68	12:27-12:58 PM	54	J. Poole
	08.08	12/ 5/68	12:28-12:56 PM	30	E. Brown

Catalog of Specimen Records Continued

Subject	Code No.	Date	Time	No.of Pages	Observer
Low Rural					
Jack Vogler	10.01	7 /17/67	10:25-10:40 AM	13	V. Neuhoff
	10.02	7 /25/67	3:50- 4:20 PM	24	V. Neuhoff
	10.03	8 / 1/67	11:55-12:22 PM	24	V. Neuhoff
	10.04	8 / 8/67	12:15-12:41 PM	39	D. Schoggen
	10.05	9 /12/67	10:55-11:25 AM	22	B. McCandless
	10.06	9 /13/67	11:20-11:50 AM	24	B. McCandless
	10.07	10/10/67	5:32- 5:58 PM	42	D. Schoggen
	10.08	10/23/67	12:09-12:37 PM	36	D. Schoggen
	10.09	9 /19/67	5:50- 6:12 PM	18	B. McCandless
Alice Tyler	11.01	7 /19/67	1:15- 1:57 PM	35	M. Scott
	11.02	7 /25/67	4:11- 4:34 PM	28	D. Schoggen
	11.03	7 /27/67	11:25-12:14 PM	28	M. Scott
	11.04	8 / 1/67	11:44-12:06 PM	30	D. Schoggen
	11.05	8 / 3/67	1:00- 1:35 PM	36	M. Scott
	11.06	8 / 9/67	5:10- 5:40 PM	37	M. Scott
	11.07	8 /17/67	12:20-12:50 PM	32	M. Scott
	11.08	8 /24/67	11:40-11:55 AM	18	D. Schoggen
Rachel Tweed	12.01	11/ 6/67	11:20-11:50 AM	39	E. Brown
	12.02	11/ 9/67	11:10-11:35 AM	41	D. Schoggen
	12.03	11/13/67	11:30-12:00	31	E. Brown
	12.04	11/20/67	11:48-12:23 PM	50	E. Brown
	12.05	11/21/67	11:10-11:30 AM	30	D. Schoggen
	12.06	11/30/67	11:15-11:42 AM	41	D. Schoggen
	12.07	12/ 4/67	11:40-12:05 PM	36	D. Schoggen
	12.08	12/ 5/67	11:23-11:55 AM	37	E. Brown
	12.09	12/ 7/67	11:10-11:30 AM	27	D. Schoggen
Paula Shelton	13.01	11/21/67	11:10-11:36 AM	31	D. Schoggen
	13.02	11/28/67	11:20-11:40 AM	22	D. Schoggen
	13.03	11/29/67	3:30- 3:53 PM	15	D. Schoggen
	13.04	12/11/67	11:00-11:29 AM	37	D. Schoggen
	13.05	12/11/67	11:43-12:06 PM	25	E. Brown
	13.06	12/12/67	11:10-11:45 AM	31	E. Brown
	13.07	12/14/67	11:18-11:36 AM	24	E. Brown

Catalog of Specimen Records Continued

Subject	Code No.	Date	Time	No.of Pages	Observer
Low Rural					
Winton Clark	14.01	2/20/68	6:15- 6:44 PM	30	C. McLean
	14.02	2/22/68	6:15- 6:42 PM	40	D. Schoggen
	14.03	2/27/68	5:53- 6:21 PM	43	D. Schoggen
	14.04	2/29/68	6:30- 7:03 PM	37	C. McLean
	14.05	3/ 5/68	5:50- 6:22 PM	39	C. McLean
	14.06	3/ 7/68	6:07- 6:39 PM	39	D. Schoggen
	14.07	3/13/68	6:20- 6:54 PM	44	C. McLean
	14.08	4/ 3/68	6:15- 6:45 PM	39	C. McLean
Buck Tyndale	15.00	7/29/68	11:15-11:40 MM	51	J. Poole
	15.01	8/ 1/68	9:28- 9:54 AM	46	D. Schoggen
	15.02	8/ 4/68	10:20-10:48 AM	45	D. Schoggen
	15.03	8/ 7/68	11:20-11:47 AM	35	D. Schoggen
	15.04	8/19/68	9:40-10:01 AM	34	J. Poole
	15.05	8/21/68	10:28-10:58 AM	48	J. Poole
	15.06	8/26/68	1:31- 1:47 PM	28	D. Schoggen
	15.07	9/18/68	10:10-10:29 AM	32	D. Schoggen
	15.08	10/11/68	10:48-11:09 AM	41	J. Poole
Ronald Ogilvey	16.01	7/25/68	10:05-10:29 AM	40	D. Schoggen
	16.02	8/ 5/68	11:15-11:34 AM	30	D. Schoggen
	16.03	8/ 7/68	10:15-10:41 AM	41	D. Schoggen
	16.04	8/12/68	12:41- 1:12 PM	42	J. Poole
	16.05	8/26/68	12:17-12:52 PM	48	J. Poole
	16.06	9/ 9/68	11:39-12:09 PM	45	J. Poole
	16.07	9/11/68	12:26-12:50 PM	35	D. Schoggen
	16.08	9/16/68	12:10-12:39 PM	58	J. Poole
Viola Oakes	17.01	9/30/68	1L:48-12:13 PM	46	J. Poole
	17.02	10/ 2/68	10:30-10:56 AM	38	D. Schoggen
	17.03	10/ 8/68	10:23-10:55 AM	58	J. Poole
	17.04	10/14/68	10:10-10:38 AM	46	D. Schoggen
	17.05	10/16/68	10:07-10:36 AM	49	J. Poole
	17.06	10/21/68	10:15-10:46 AM	37	D. Schoggen
	17.07	10/24/68	10:15-10:46 AM	53	J. Poole
	17.08	10/30/68	10:30-10:53 AM	51	J. Poole

Catalog of Specimen Records Continued

Subject	Code No.	Date	Time	No.of Pages	Observer
Middle Urban					
Rene Payne	20.01	2/ 7/68	12:30-12:59 PM	27	E. Brown
	20.02	2/ 9/68	12:35- 1:03 PM	38	D. Schoggen
	20.03	2/14/68	12:25-12:50 PM	38	D. Schoggen
	20.04	2/16/68	12:25-12:52 PM	25	E. Brown
	20.05	2/19/68	12:40- 1:15 PM	54	D. Schoggen
	20.06	2/21/68	12:30- 1:00 PM	43	E. Brown
	20.07	2/26/68	12:40- 1:12 PM	48	D. Schoggen
	20.08	2/28/68	12:40- 1:10 PM	42	E. Brown
Connie Roper	21.01	2/29/68	12:17-12:39 PM	30	E. Brown
	21.02	3/ 5/68	12:00-12:30 PM	49	D. Schoggen
	21.03	3/26/68	12:00-12:21 PM	30	D. Schoggen
	21.04	4/ 2/68	12:06-12:38 PM	38	E. Brown
	21.05	4/ 5/68	12:30-12:55 PM	35	E. Brown
	21.06	4/ 9/68	12:00-12:35 PM	26	D. Schoggen
	21.07	4/11/68	12:06-12:42 PM	53	E. Brown
	21.08	4/16/68	11:45-12:05 PM	39	D. Schoggen
Nora Nwwman	22.01	3/28/68	4:15- 4:52 PM	51	M. Sweeney
	22.02	4/ 3/68	4:58- 5:31 PM	52	M. James
	22.03	4/11/68	4:10- 4:55 PM	38	M. Sweeney
	22.04	4/24/68	5:37- 6:05 PM	39	D. Schoggen
	22.05	5/ 4/68	12:05-12:29 PM	35	D. Schoggen
	22.06	5/ 8/68	4:58- 5:30 PM	50	M. James
	22.07	5/15/68	4:47- 5:12 PM	43	M. James
	22.08	5/24/68	4:52- 5:22 PM	40	M. James
Curt Conners	23.01	4/16/68	12:01-12:57 PM	61	M. James
	23.02	6/27/68	12:55- 1:30 PM	50	M. James
	23.03	7/ 9/68	12:49- 1:17 PM	46	M. James
	23.04	7/12/68	1:23- 1:54 PM	58	M. James
	23.05	7/16/68	12:17-12:43 PM	41	E. Brown
	23.06	7/19/68	12:17-12:42 PM	37	E. Brown
	23.07	7/23/68	12:00-12:37 PM	42	E. Brown
	23.08	7/25/68	11:57-12:25 PM	44	E. Brown

Catalog of Specimen Records Continued

Subject	Code No.	Date	Time	No.of Pages	Observer
Ronald Zale	24.01	5/30/68	12:30-12:58 PM	39	D. Schoggen
	24.02	6/21/68	12:15-12:42 PM	40	D. Schoggen
	24.03	6/27/68	11:47-12:14 PM	45	J. Poole
	24.04	7/ 3/68	5:35- 6:10 PM	58	D. Schoggen
	24.05	7/ 5/68	11:50-12:21 PM	39	J. Poole
	24.06	7/ 8/68	12:00-12:32 PM	41	J. Poole
	24.07	7/11/68	5:35- 6:12 PM	59	D. Schoggen
	24.08	8/15/68	1:15- 1:44 PM	43	J. Poole
Oren Allen	25.01	8/ 6/68	11:55-12:20 PM	35	E. Brown
	25.02	8/ 8/68	11:55-12:23 PM	35	C. McLean
	25.03	8/12/68	11:50-12:17 PM	31	E. Brown
	25.04	8/13/68	5:45- 6:30 PM	42	C. McLean
	25.05	8/15/68	11:55-12:21 PM	32	E. Brown
	25.06	9/11/68	11:35-12:03 PM	37	E. Brown
	25.07	9/19/68	11:45-12:30 PM	34	C. McLean
	25.08	9/28/68	11:55-12:26 PM	44	C. McLean
Eric Reed	26.01	10/24/68	8:05- 8:35 AM	44	M. Sweeney
	26.02	10/29/68	5:05- 5:35 PM	47	D. Schoggen
	26.03	11/ 7/68	5:00- 5:30 PM	48	M. Sweeney
	26.04	11/12/68	4:45- 5:10 PM	28	D. Schoggen
	26.05	11/19/68	7:55- 8:22 AM	34	M. Sweeney
	26.06	11/21/68	4:20- 4:49 PM	45	D. Schoggen
	26.07	11/25/68	5:05- 5:20 PM	23	M. Sweeney
	26.08	11/26/68	7:30- 8:01 AM	40	D. Schoggen
	26.09	12/ 3/68	8:00- 8:25 AM	37	M. Sweeney
Vera Grace	27.01	11/ 6/68	5:10- 5:38 PM	41	D. Schoggen
	27.02	11/ 8/68	6:20- 6:47 PM	44	M. James
	27.03	11/12/68	4:32- 5:02 PM	36	M. James
	27.04	11/19/68	5:10- 5:50 PM	62	M. James
	27.05	11/20/68	4:10- 4:36 PM	43	D. Schoggen
	27.06	12/ 6/68	5:03- 5:25 PM	43	D. Schoggen
	27.07	12/ 9/68	5:49- 6:20 PM	55	M. James
	27.08	12/10/68	5:24- 5:50 PM	38	M. James

Rate of EFU per Minute

From the first stage of analysis, the marking of the units of the actions of others toward the subjects, a rate of Environmental Force Unit per minute was determined. This is the first step in providing some measures of the input to the child from social agents in the environment. A more precise measure of amount of input to the child will be available when duration of the units is combined with the rate measure. For illustrative purposes, however, Table II shows EFU per minute for all 24 children in the total sample. The figure given represents the total number of EFU divided by total number of minutes across all specimen records for each child. A more complete table is given in Appendix D.

Table II

Mean Rate of Environmental Force Units Per Minete (EFU/min.)
For Each Child

Low Urban		Low Rural		Middle Urban	
Usher	1.15	Shelton	0.90	Allen	1.33
Culster	1.41	Tyler	1.03	Reed	1.64
Taylor	1.43	Clark	1.51	Grace	1.68
Rubens	1.46	Oakes	1.56	Conners	1.73
Parkes	1.57	Ogilvey	1.78	Zale	1.81
Zimbalist	1.59	Vogler	1.81	Payne	1.84
Pedigo	1.78	Tweed	1.83	Roper	2.21
Filbert	2.26	Tyndale	1.87	Newman	2.44
Median	1.52		1.67		1.77
Mean	1.58		1.56		1.83

The median rate of EFU for all 24 children was 1.67. Six of the low income urban rates, four of the low income rural rates, and two of the middle income urban rates fall below this median. No statistical procedures

have been applied at this time. The more complete indication of input, i.e., rate times duration, will be a better indicator of overall input and this figure will be used for statistical analysis.

Per Cent of Mother Units

It was possible to provide a rough indication of the per cent of all units in a record in which the mother was classified as agent. As this figure has relevance to the idea advanced that mothers are less frequently agents of their children's behavior in disadvantaged circumstances, Table III is given below.

Table III

Per Cent of Environmental Force Units With Mother As Agent

Low Urban		Low Rural		Middle Urban	
Usher	26	Shelton	12	Allen	44
Taylor	27	Tyndale	16	Grace	46
Rubens	43	Clark	38	Newman	54
Culster	46	Tyler	50	Zale	57
Zimbalist	49	Oakes	50	Roper	57
Pedigo	58	Ogilvey	51	Payne	62
Parkes	71	Tweed	53	Reed	71
Filbert	84	Vogler	56	Conners	78
Median	48		50		57
Mean	53		47		59

The median per cent of units with mothers as agent for all 24 families was 50.5 per cent. Five children in both the low income urban and rural families fell below the median; two children from the middle income families received less than the median per cent from the mother. No statistical procedures have been followed at this point as a more accurate count will

be available from the next phase of analysis. A complete analysis of all the agents in the child's day will also be available at that time.

Both these measures do provide a basis of measurement of the proximal environment; they are psychologically relevant factors in the experience of the child. Further analyses will provide a more complex basis for this assessment.

Further Analysis

To provide a more complex description of the input from immediate environment upon the child, the Environmental Force Units will be coded according to a system of categories devised by Schoggen (1963). These categories will be used with some modification and will provide data about both the content and quality of the EFU. Work is underway on this analysis. The coding system will be put onto IBM cards for ease of retrieval and statistical analysis. A manual of coding procedures is in process and will be available for use by others.

Background Materials

The information collected in the adaptation visits has been used to rate systematically some objective aspects of the home. The organization and condition of the home and evidences of socioeconomic status suggested by the presence of certain items such as a TV, refrigerator, radio, and telephone have been combined into a single rating. This rating is a measure of nonpsychological aspects of the immediate environment of the child which may or may not relate to psychological aspects of the child's experience.

Other Uses of the Library of Specimen Records

Behavior Objects Study

In addition to the ongoing study of EFU, a pilot study on one family from each sub-group was conducted to investigate one aspect of the specific content of the environment of three subject children. For this study another ecological unit of behavior, the episode (Wright, 1967) was the basis of analysis. Appendix A shows episode markings on the left hand side of the page. Thirty-three per cent of the records have been unitized according to this system. This study by Ellen Brown (1969) enumerates the things and people in the environment of the subjects and describes the behavior of the subjects with reference to them. The completed report is available on request.

Manual for Use in Training Paraprofessionals

Consistent with the goal of providing a body of raw material for a variety of uses, excerpts from the specimen records have been used by Jean Shaw and Maxine Schoggen to prepare a resource book called Children Learning[2] which provides examples of mothers teaching and children learning.

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2. This work was performed pursuant to Grant Number 9174 with the Office of Economic Opportunity. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official policy of either office.

This is suggested as a useful adjunct to teaching in programs such as pre-primary and primary in-service training or mother-intervention programs. A copy of this book is available on request.

Analyses Devised by Others

In addition, specimen records have been made available to persons interested in analysis procedures quite different from the present approach. Within DARCEE, Dr. Corinne Mumbauer is investigating the potential of these records to investigate specific reinforcements, a method of analysis which could yield information directly relevant to the ideas about continuing experience of the disadvantaged child, as expressed by Gray et. al. in the introduction to this report.

A sample of records is being scrutinized for examples of play interpreted in Piagetian terms. Dr. Millie Almy at Columbia University has this small sample which has been chosen to illustrate the variety of play activity available from the observations.

A small beginning on a study of language has been made both at DARCEE and at Rutgers University. At DARCEE a complete vocabulary of words used by several of the children in the sample has been compiled. This should be continued at least at a pilot level to determine whether such a study on all children could yield relevant data. At Rutgers University, Dr. Jane Raph is interested in investigating the meaning of language as used by a small sample of these children.

Summary

It has been the purpose of this study to provide a library of specimen records on the behavior of twenty-four three-year-old children in three different sub-populations: low income urban, low income rural, and middle income urban. Some analyses of these specimen records have been completed. Each child was observed on seven to ten different occasions and a specimen record was prepared for each observation. The specimen records were divided into Environmental Force Units, i.e., goal directed actions on the part of agents to the subject. A rate of Environmental Force Units per minute was figured for each child and the per cent of all the units in which the mother was acting as the agent was determined. No cross-group statistical measures were used at this time. A pilot study on the behavior objects used by one child from each of the sub-groups has been completed. A measure of amount of input to the child from the environment will be provided by a combination of rate of EFU and duration of units in a future phase. Quality of the behavior of the agents has not been considered in this study but will be one focus of the next stage of analysis.

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Appendix B

Summary: Sample of 24 Children

In Three Socioeconomic Groups*

Name of Subject	Race & Sex	# of Children in Family	Position of Subject	#Children usually at Home	Hollingshead index of social position
Low Urban					
01. O. Culster	W M	5	3	4-5	7
02. F. Zimbalist	W F	2	2	2	6
03. Z. Rubens	B M	3	2	3	6
04. E. Taylor	B M	4	4	2	7
05. E. Parkes	B F	5	4	2	6
06. C. Usher	B F	9	5	5-9	No Father
07. P. Filbert	W F	5	5	2-3	6
08. G. Pedigo	W M	10	9	3	6
Low Rural					
10. J. Vogler	W M	3	3	3	7
11. A. Tyler	W F	3	3	3	6
12. R. Tweed	W F	7	5	4	6
13. P. Shelton	W F	5	3	4	6
14. W. Clark	W M	4	4	4	7
15. B. Tyndale	W M	7	6	2-6	6
16. R. Ogilvey	W M	3	3	3	6
17. V. Oakes	W F	4	2	3	7
Middle Urban					
20. R. Payne	W F	6	5	2	1
21. C. Roper	W F	9	8	3	1
22. N. Newman	B F	3	3	3	1
23. C. Conners	B M	4	4	1-3	1
24. R. Zale	W M	3	3	3	3
25. O. Allen	W M	3	2	3	1
26. E. Reed	B M	2	1	2	1
27. V. Grace	B F	4	4	4	1

* All Subjects Are Three Years Old

Appendix C

Summary of Logs of Visits

Name	No. of Visits	No.of Phone Calls	Dates of Visits 1st-last contact	Dates of Observations	Total Min.in Home
Low Urban					
01. Culster	23	0	9/12/66- 4/10/67	12/ 6/66- 3/21/67	960
02. Zimbalist	14	27	12/21/66- 8/10/67	3/22/67- 8/10/67	520
03. Rubens	16	8	1/19/67- 6/27/67	4/12/67- 6/27/67	665
04. Taylor	14	0	9/17/67-12/ 7/67	10/ 6/67-12/ 1/67	835
05. Parkes	15	0	10/16/67-12/30/67	10/30/67-12/16/67	750
06. Usher	19	0	1/18/68- 3/29/68	2/23/68- 3/21/68	658
07. Filbert	19	0	2/28/68- 5/ 9/68	3/25/68- 5/ 2/68	510
08. Pedigo	20	14	10/13/68-12/14/68	10/24/68-12/ 5/68	660
Total					5558
Low Rural					
10. Vogler	11	0	7/ 6/67-10/23/67	7/17/67-10/23/67	580
11. Tyler	13	0	7/ 6/67- 8/31/67	7/19/67- 8/24/67	590
12. Tweed	18	0	10/16/67-12/19/67	11/ 6/67-12/ 7/67	595
13. Shelton	21	0	10/18/67-12/24/67	11/21/67-12/14/67	335
14. Clark	13	1	1/29/68- 4/ 3/68	2/20/68- 4/ 3/68	487
15. Tyndale	21	0	5/ 1/68-10/30/68	7/29/68-10/30/68	743
16. Ogilvey	16	0	7/16/68- 9/23/68	7/26/68- 9/16/68	531
17. Oakes	15	0	7/26/68-11/ 7/68	9/30/68-10/30/68	578
Total					4439
Middle Urban					
20. Payne	11	11	1/10/68- 2/28-68	2/ 7/68- 2/28/68	550
21. Roper	11	16	2/15/68- 4/16/68	2/29/68- 4/16/68	515
22. Newman	12	3	2/21/68- 5/24/68	3/27/68- 5/24/68	553
23. Conners	15	4	3/29/68- 7/25/68	4/16/68- 7/25/68	608
24. Zale	9	12	5/20/68- 8/15/68	5/30/68- 8/15/68	515
25. Allen	12	6	5/20/68- 9/28/68	8/ 6/68- 9/28/68	470
26. Reed	11	3	9/15/68-12/ 3/63	10/10/68-12/ 3/68	490
27. Grace	11	13	10/ 1/68-12/10/68	11/ 6/68-12/10/68	687
Total					4388

Appendix D

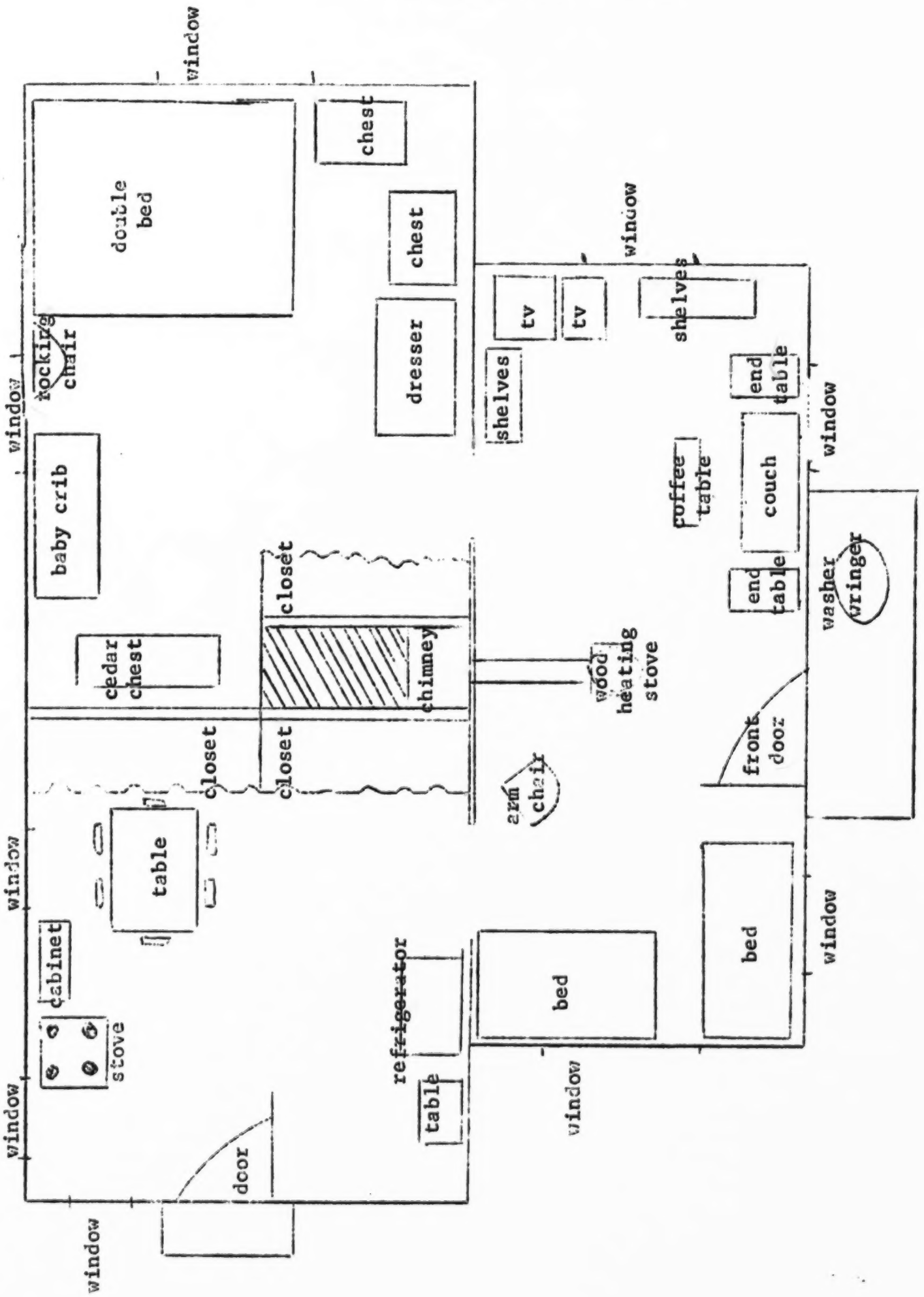
Minutes of Observation, Environmental Force Units (EFU) and Rate of EFU for 24 Children

Name of Family	Min. of Observation Range	Total #	Mean	EFU Range	Total #	Mean	Rate of EFU Range	Mean
Low Urban (LU)								
01. Culster	10-38	212	21	7-62	299	30	0.70-2.34	1.41
02. Zimbalist	10-40	211	26	21-63	335	32	1.05-2.30	1.59
03. Rubens	13-47	229	29	22-68	334	42	1.06-2.00	1.46
04. Taylor	18-34	227	28	4-70	324	41	0.13-2.48	1.43
05. Parkes	22-36	232	29	25-79	365	46	0.78-2.19	1.57
06. Usher	3-34	252	32	9-68	290	36	0.28-2.34	1.15
07. Filbert	21-43	229	29	41-75	517	65	1.51-3.13	2.26
08. Pedigo	26-31	228	29	22-69	405	51	0.79-2.90	1.78
All LU	10-47	1820			2869			1.58
Low Rural (LR)								
10. Vogler	15-30	232	26	21-71	421	47	1.30-2.73	1.81
11. Tyler	15-42	228	29	18-48	234	29	0.71-1.60	1.03
12. Tweed	20-35	246	27	31-82	449	50	1.06-3.04	1.83
13. Shelton	19-35	174	25	2-49	159	23	0.09-1.95	0.91
14. Clark	27-34	243	30	21-63	367	46	1.10-2.17	1.51
15. Tyndale	16-31	215	24	16-80	401	45	0.73-3.07	1.87
16. Ogilvey	19-35	217	27	14-87	387	48	0.47-2.90	1.78
17. Oakes	25-32	232	29	12-60	361	45	0.39-2.07	1.56
All LR	15-42	1787			2788			1.56
Middle Urban (MU)								
20. Payne	22-33	229	30	30-89	422	53	1.07-2.70	1.84
21. Roper	21-35	207	26	39-83	458	57	1.61-2.89	2.21
22. Newman	24-37	239	30	55-102	582	73	1.75-3.13	2.44
23. Conners	25-45	255	32	26-92	442	55	1.04-2.19	1.73
24. Zale	20-41	256	32	45-78	464	58	1.12-2.41	1.81
25. Allen	25-31	221	28	26-51	293	37	0.77-1.85	1.33
26. Reed	15-32	230	26	16-58	378	42	1.05-2.56	1.64
27. Grace	22-40	233	29	36-60	391	49	1.03-2.14	1.68
All MU	10-47	1870			3430			1.83

APPENDIX A

BACKGROUND AND SPECIMEN RECORD OF

ONE LOW INCOME RURAL THREE-YEAR-OLD



I. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LIVING AREA

A. Description of Exterior

1. Lot

The house was located on a large lot at the end of a dirt road. Along part of the boundary of the lot ran a creek, through which cars had to drive to get into the Tweed's yard. The yard behind the house and to one side was covered with low brush, high grass, and a few trees. Immediately surrounding the house and in front of it to the creek, the yard was mostly dirt with sparse amounts of grass and some rocks. To one side of the house and about ten yards from it there was a privy. Between the privy and the creek was a broken-down shed. Near the shed was an old car with many parts missing. The yard was often littered with children's toys such as bicycles and wagons. There were clotheslines strung between the trees and shed to one side of the yard.

2. House

The exterior of the house is mostly clapboard and shingles. It is possible that part of the back, including the bedroom, was added after the rest of the house was built. At the front of the house was a concrete stoop with firm stone steps leading from it to the ground. A wringer washing machine was on the stoop to one side. Except where the steps led down from the stoop there was a drop of approximately three feet to the ground. By the door at the side of the house there was a smaller stoop and stone steps leading to the side yard.

3. Interior of House

The house was composed of three rooms, all of which were well organized. The living room seemed to be the center of most of the family's activities. It was the largest room and the wood stove, which was the only source of heat, was located there. There were two beds in the living room in addition to the couch. A double bed and crib were in the bedroom. The house was always very clean and neat, with very little clutter. Each child's clothes were neatly folded in the drawers of the chest, and others were hung on hangers in the closets. There were not a great number of toys for the children, but those available were kept neatly on the shelves of the closet when not in use. All storage space was utilized well, including the closets, chests, shelves, and kitchen cabinet which held dishes and some food.

The house had no plumbing. The water was taken from the creek for use in the house, and most washing was done in the creek. The washing machine was sometimes used as a washtub when it had been filled with creek water. The outdoor privy was set away from the house and was probably used only by the Tweed family, since there were no other houses near it.

There was an electric stove and refrigerator in the kitchen, but no other electrical appliances were seen. The Tweed's had a telephone installed sometime during the second month of observations.

There were two television sets in the living room, only one of which was in working order, and a small transistor radio in the bedroom. There were many decorative touches in the living room. There were plastic curtains at all the windows, clean bed covers on all the beds, and several small rugs on the floor. On the shelves and on top of the television sets, were plastic flowers, doilies, and small figurines such as a black panther. On the walls were paintings as well as many pictures of the entire Tweed family and various relatives. There were also several religious symbols.

The play equipment consisted largely of small cars and trucks, a few dolls, and other toys appropriate for very young children. Mrs Tweed also gave the children articles such as cans and lids for play. There were no books or drawing equipment of any kind for the children. Mrs. Tweed had several magazines of the True Love, True Confessions type, but no other books were seen.

In general, the house was well organized and always clean. The children's toys were only out when they were being used, and there was a definite atmosphere of order in the home. The television set was often on, but was turned off when the activity was in places other than the living room, such as outside or in the kitchen. The noise level varied somewhat from high-pitched loud sounds when the children were running and shouting and the television was on, to calm quiet when the children were eating.

II. FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

A. Description of Adults

1. Mother

Mrs. Tweed was a woman in her late twenties, who had not finished high school. She had no occupation outside the home. She was a woman of average size and build with a plain face that looked somewhat thin and drawn. She was generally dressed very neatly, usually in slacks when she was at home.

Mrs. Tweed enjoyed her family and seemed to take pleasure in keeping a clean, neat home for them. This was evident in the small decorative touches and the generally pleasant atmosphere of the house. The family had lived previously in an urban area in Ashten where they had indoor bathrooms and running water, but Mrs. Tweed was able to manage her household very well without them. She told us that she missed having close neighbors, but that she appreciated the amount of space around their current home. She also stated that she was grateful for the amount of money her husband earned, and that she probably had, "as much as anyone else with seven children."

No observations were made at the Tweed home at the time of the evening meal. At noon Mrs. Tweed sometimes gave the children hot food or sandwiches and milk. On other days, however, the only lunch was crackers, and at times there was no food at all. Mrs. Tweed did not seem to put a lot of thought and planning into the lunches, but she seemed to recognize that the children were hungry and needed food at noon.

Mrs. Tweed was consistent in the manner in which she disciplined the children. In general her tendency was to cope with each crisis as it arose, and then to ignore the situation until another crisis occurred. She did not trust the children by themselves, as was obvious from her habit of checking on them frequently. When they did something of which she did not approve, she warned them that they should stop. If the behavior continued she threatened punishment, usually a spanking. If the threats were ignored, she motioned as if she were going to get the belt. If the behavior still did not stop, she punished the offenders with the belt. The children seemed well aware of this sequence of actions and were able to gauge how much they could do without punishment.

Mrs. Tweed seemed to love her children, and was very proud of them. She touched and patted them affectionately, and was always eager to talk about them. While she was interested in their development, she rarely seemed to know how or make the effort to help them learn things. The one exception was when she helped the two-year-old, Robert, learn new words and speak clearly. She invited the observers to come later in the day and meet her older school-age children.

Mrs. Tweed spoke fondly of her husband and was proud of the work he did. She happily recounted conversations between Mr. Tweed and the children. She also stated that Mr. Tweed left all decisions about the children to her.

2. Father

The observers did not meet Mr. Tweed; therefore all information about him was through Mrs. Tweed. Mr. Tweed had had two operations on one arm. Though this arm was nearly useless he had a job with a company that sold electrical appliances and earned $2.04 per hour. Very little other information is known about Mr. Tweed, since he was not often mentioned by the family.

B. Description of children

1.	Richard	age 8	b.d.	11-5-58	grade 3
2.	Polly	age 7	b.d.	1-4-60	grade 2
3.	Violet	age 6	b.d.	4-3-61	grade 1
4.	Randy	age 4	b.d.	12-7-62	
* 5.	Rachel	age 3	b.d.	1-30-63	
6.	Robert	age 2	b.d.	6-20-65	
7.	Vera	age 1	b.d.	7-20-66	

Children at home during observations:

Randy was a thin child with blond hair. He tended to be somewhat shy with adults but quite aggressive with his siblings. Mrs. Tweed asked Randy to do many small tasks for her since he was the oldest of the children who were at home during the day. Randy, like the other children, was very active. He played almost all the time with Rachel or Robert rather than alone.

* Rachel was a slight child with short blond hair which was often tangled. She seemed to be quite moody; some days she was sweet and happy and other days she was hostile, pouty, and obstinate. Her activity level also varied considerably. Often she ran and competed fiercely with Randy and Robert. However, she would also sit for long period by herself with a rather vague expression on her face or frankly staring at the observer. She did not seem very affectionate, though at times she enjoyed being held and petted by her mother.

Robert was a lively two-year-old of average build. He was shy at first with the observers but later became quite friendly. He enjoyed playing with Randy and Rachel, but did not often take the initiative, probably because of his smaller size. He spoke very little at first, but his mother helped him, and gradually he came to say more understandable words.

Vera was a happy, somewhat chubby baby. When she was in the room with the other children she seemed to enjoy their play, and managed to hold her own fairly well for her age and size.

IV. GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF FAMILY

The Tweed's were a large, fairly closely knit family. They seemed to spend their small income very well, with the primary concern being the children's welfare. The home atmosphere was generally pleasant and comfortable, though usually quite active.

Summary of Log of Visits Tweed 12.00

# of Visit	Date	Visitor's Initials	Results	Min. in home	Min. in obs.
1	10-16-67	J.B. E.B.	1st adaptation	20	
2	10-18-67	E.B. D.S.	2nd adaptation	15	
3	10-23-67	E.B.	Planned adaptation, still awkward for family	20	
4	10-25-67	D.S.	Adaptation	20	
5	10-30-67	E.B.	Adaptation	30	
6	11-2-67		No one home		
7	11-3-67	D.S.	Adaptation	30	
8	11-6-67	E.B.	Obs. #1	40	30
9	11-9-67	D.S.	Obs. #2	55	25
10	11-13-67	E.B.	Obs. #3	45	30
11	11-15-67	D.S.	Attempted observation, machine failure	15	
12	11-20-67	E.B.	Obs. #4	50	35
13	11-21-67	D.S.	Obs. #5	40	20
14	11-30-67	D.S.	Obs. #6 - machine failure	60	27
15	12-4-67	D.S.	Obs. #7	75	26
16	12-5-67	E.B.	Obs. #8	40	32
17	12-7-67	D.S.	Obs. #9	30	20
18	12-19-67	D.S. E.B.	Deliver Christmas presents		
			Totals:	595	245

Identification of observers: Jane Bridgman
Ellen Brown
Dikkie Schoggen

Ecological Study
Subject: Rachel Tweed
Date: December 5, 1967
Time: 11:23 - 11:55 A.M.
Observer: Ellen Brown
Subject/Observation No. 12.08

I arrived at the Tweed house at about 11:15 A.M. It was a very clear day with lovely weather. It was getting quite warm. When I arrived it was nearly sixty degrees; however, the front door of the house was shut. I could hear the sounds of the children as I walked up to the door.

Mrs. Tweed opened the door when I knocked. The children, Randy, Rachel, and Robert, were sitting in the living room having lunch. The television was on at an extremely high volume. When Mrs. Tweed and I began to talk Mrs. Tweed went over and turned it down very low. She did not turn it up again so that the volume of noise in the room was much lower than it had been on previous visits.

The children were all fully dressed with shoes and socks and play clothes. Robert was sitting on the end of the couch at the far end of the room. He had on a girl's heavy wool hat backwards. Mrs. Tweed went over and tried to take the hat off him soon after I arrived. Robert objected, so she left it on, laughing at him indulgently. Randy was seated in one of the small wooden rockers which was placed at the left end of the room at the foot of the bunk beds. He was back all the way against the wall. On his right, which was just to the left of the front door, was a silver Christmas tree with ornaments on it, on top of a wooden table. Rachel was seated in a folding plastic chair next to the table near the front door. I got the impression that the children had been very firmly placed in these positions to have their lunch, by Mrs. Tweed, as they did not get up when I came to the door. Each child had a plastic plate on which were some baked beans and some crackers.

When I greeted the children, Robert began pointing into the bedroom and saying something which was unclear to me. Mrs. Tweed interpreted, "He's showing you where Vera is." Vera was in the crib in the bedroom asleep. When I commented on the Christmas tree, Mrs. Tweed began telling me about the presents she had gotten the children for Christmas. She said that she dreaded the whole season and would be glad when it was over because they all fought over the toys. To avoid this problem, she said that she had bought them all the same things. Though she was complaining, she sounded as if she really was looking forward to Christmas for the children. After we had talked some, I put the equipment together and began to observe.

1

Eating lunch

0'00" Rachel leans on the table next to her.

She holds a cracker in her left hand.

Looking at TV

2

She stares blankly at the television.

On the television is a soap opera which I think is "Love of Life."

Checking on Mother & observer

3

Rachel turns and looks at Mrs. Tweed for a moment and then at me in one sweeping motion of her eyes. She seems to be just checking on our positions.

She looks back at the television.

Rachel picks up her spoon with her right hand.

She takes it in her fist.

She makes several scraping motions with the spoon on the plate, piling the baked beans onto one side very carefully.

Randy begins tapping his feet on the floor.

Watching Mother

4

Mrs. Tweed does not look up as she says, "Randy, quit," in a low warning sounding voice.

Randy stops immediately.

Rachel watches her mother carefully. She seems quite subdued, as do Randy and Robert.

Rachel takes a bite of the cracker.

Imitating Randy

5

She sticks her feet out in front of her and begins tapping her feet on the floor in an obvious imitation of Randy.

There is no reaction from Mrs. Tweed to this.

Watching TV

6

Rachel looks at the television.

She takes a bite of her cracker as she continues to watch.

Watching TV

She stares at the television but I do not get the impression that she is really listening or watching what it has on as her expression is rather blank.

7 Rachel falls forward from her chair onto her knees on the floor.

She shakes her head back and forth and says in a monotone, "Ah ah," as if she just wants to make a sound.

Shaking head

As she does this she continues to chew her cracker.

She shakes her head around some more. It almost seems as if she is showing off for someone, though no one seems to be paying any attention to her.

She suddenly gets up from the floor.

She sits back down in her chair.

She drops her head back.

She takes cracker crumbs in both hands and dumps them into her mouth.

She leans forward again with a flourish and in doing so knocks the spoon from her plate onto the floor with a clatter.

Eating lunch

Checking Mother's response

8 She immediately looks up at Mrs. Tweed apprehensively.

Mrs. Tweed looks over at her for a minute as if to see what she is doing.

9 She says, "Rachel," in a rough tone.

Having Mother wipe nose

Rachel says, "Huh?" in a disinterested way.

Mrs. Tweed says gently, "Go get you a Kleenex and I'll wipe your nose."

Rachel immediately gets up from the chair and stomps over to the television set. She is wearing white leather boots with some kind of hard soles that make a big clatter when she walks. She seems to enjoy this very much because she makes a lot of noise purposely when she moves around.

1 M: S to have nose wiped

Having Mother wipe nose

M: S to have nose wiped

She takes a Kleenex from the box on the television set.

She walks over past the television set toward the bedroom.

Mrs. Tweed says in a slightly irritated voice, "C'mon, bring it here."

Rachel weaves and changes direction as she approaches the bedroom door.

She ends up walking toward Mrs. Tweed holding out the Kleenex.

Mrs. Tweed takes the Kleenex.

She holds Rachel's head and wipes her nose off very gently.

Mrs. Tweed ways very firmly, "Now sit down."

Rachel docilely walks across the room.

She sits back down in her chair.

Eating lunch

10

Watching Robert and Mother

At this point, Robert hurls himself off the couch carefully holding his plate with the spoon on it in front of him, trying to keep it level.

There is nothing on the plate except the spoon.

He staggers over catching his balance as he walks toward Mrs. Tweed.

He has a huge grin on his face as if he is very pleased with himself.

Rachel watches Robert interestedly.

Mrs. Tweed watches him with a half-smile on her face as he comes toward her. She looks as if she is uncertain as to whether Robert is about to throw the plate or just carry it across the room.

When he continues to carry it toward her, she says, "That's a nice little boy. Now take it into the kitchen and set it on the table." Her tone indicates that she is very pleased with what Robert is doing.

Eating lunch

Watching Robert and Mother

Robert walks by her into the kitchen without saying anything.

He puts his plate up on the table.

Rachel watches Robert and Mrs. Tweed very carefully.

Mrs. Tweed gets up from her chair.

She says gently, turning her head in the direction of the kitchen, "C'mon let Mama get a washrag and wash off your face."

Robert pays no attention to his mother.

He marches across the room much as Rachel has just done.

He reaches the television.

He reaches up on top and grabs a Kleenex from the box.

This seems to be a direct imitation of what Rachel has just done.

Mrs. Tweed has gone into the bedroom.

When she sees that Robert has not followed her, she comes to the bedroom doorway.

She looks into the living room as if searching to see where Robert is.

As Robert picks up the Kleenex he says, "I got....," something which I cannot understand.

He repeats this several times sounding very pleased with himself.

Mrs. Tweed walks over to Robert.

She takes a Kleenex and gently wipes off his face with it.

Rachel continues to watch this interchange between Mrs. Tweed and Robert with a blank expression on her face, following the action from one person to the other but not eating or doing anything else.

She looks down at her plate.

She takes a spoonful of beans in her mouth and chews.

She does not seem to enjoy this eating process but seems to regard it as something which must be done.

As she chews the beans she takes a bite of saltine and continues to chew.

She has no particular expression on her face but is just sitting and eating absently.

2'50" Mrs. Tweed complains, "Don't tell me that fire is going down in the stove."

She walks past Rachel out the front door.

Eating lunch

Looking into stove

11 Rachel gets up from her chair.

When Mrs. Tweed goes out the front door, Rachel goes over to the stove.

She grabs the handle and pulls the top of the stove slightly over to the side.

She peers in curiously.

Robert immediately scrambles down from his place on the couch.

He runs across the room to the stove.

Robert says, "Mama, Mama." He sounds as if he is about to tell on Rachel for playing with the lid of the stove.

Mrs. Tweed walks in the door.

Rachel hurries back and sits down in her chair.

Watching Mother for response

12 She regards Mrs. Tweed warily for a moment.

Mrs. Tweed has two large logs in her arms.

She says to Robert, "What did you put in that stove?" but she does not sound as if she really cares.

Watching Mother for response

Robert says nothing, but points accusingly to Rachel, who is now sitting in her chair looking very innocent.

3'30" Mrs. Tweed asks Robert as if she really wants to know, "Rachel did?" but does not pursue the issue any further.

She puts the logs in the stove and slides the lid back in place.

She goes and sits down in the rocker where she was sitting earlier.

She returns to reading her True Love magazine.

Rachel takes a bite of cracker.

Examining hands

13 She holds her hands out in front of her.

She looks at them, turning her hands over admiringly much as a woman might look at her hands in a new pair of gloves.

She shakes her head from side to side almost in wonder.

She looks as though she is putting on an act for someone but as before, she really has no audience other than me, and I do not think this is for my benefit.

Eating lunch

Robert has been sitting in his chair the entire time.

He now sits tapping his feet eating his food.

Robert goes back and sits on the couch at the far end.

Looking at TV

14 Rachel stares at the television again very blankly.

4'10" She takes a spoonful of beans in her mouth.

Looking at mother

15 She looks up at Mrs. Tweed blankly almost as if she does not see her.

Looking at obs.

16 Then she turns to look at me.

Looking at observer

I continue to watch but make no other movement.

Rachel looks down as if uninterested.

She takes another bite of beans.

17 She looks quickly at Randy with an annoyed look.

Looking at Randy

Randy is tapping his feet on the floor again.

Randy makes no response to Rachel's annoyed glance.

18 Rachel turns back around in her chair.

Stamping feet on floor

She begins tapping her feet on the floor, two feet at a time and then one foot, alternating this pattern about five or six times.

She stamps quite loudly, and since the television is turned low and there is not much other noise in the room, this adds a lot of clatter.

She takes another bite of beans.

4'50" She picks up her spoon.

Pushing beans around

19 She spreads out her beans, holding her spoon so that the bowl of the spoon pushes the beans around.

20 Mrs. Tweed glances up at Rachel.

She says casually, as if she is just interested, "Rachel are you playing with your food?"

Rachel looks at her very blankly.

Answering Mother

Mrs. Tweed says as if explaining, "If you don't want that, go put it in yonder," indicating the kitchen with a nod of her head.

Rachel says very firmly and matter-of-factly, "No."

5'10" Mrs. Tweed says, "Then quit it."

2 M: S not to play with food

Eating lunch

Looking Glancing at Mother

Tapping feet

N: S not to play with food

She looks back down at her magazine. She seems to have lost interest in Rachel.

21 Rachel taps her feet on the floor.

22 She looks at Mrs. Tweed for a moment almost as if she is calculating what to do next.

23 She glances over at the television screen. Something seems to have caught her attention on the television.

24 Abruptly she picks up her plate in two hands.

In her right hand she also grabs her spoon.

She marches very proudly across the room past Mrs. Tweed into the kitchen.

Taking plate to Kitchen

Mrs. Tweed only glances at Rachel.

She mumbles, "That's a nice girl," but does not put much feeling into it.

Rachel puts her plate on the table in the kitchen.

I follow her into the kitchen.

Eating crackers

25 Rachel eagerly grabs the pack of saltines on the table.

She reaches in and takes a few out.

Tussling with Randy

26 At this point, Randy walks into the kitchen with his plate.

Rachel says something to Randy referring to the crackers.

Randy reaches over playfully and grabs Rachel around the shoulders.

He smacks her once with his fists on her left arm.

Rachel laughs.

She wiggles free.

As she does so she yells out, "Yay," in a taunting way.

3

Randy: S to be teased

Eating crackers

Tussling w/Randy

12.08-10

She runs into the living room.

Randy: S to be teased

6'00" Rachel runs over to the chair where she was sitting before.

She sits down.

She takes a bite of cracker, dropping the larger part of the cracker she was holding onto the floor.

Robert runs over to Mrs. Tweed.

He says something to her, indicating Rachel with his outstretched arm.

Mrs. Tweed looks up.

She says soothingly to Robert, "She'll give you one."

Defending crackers from Robert

27

She says commandingly to Rachel, "You give him one of those crackers. You can't eat all them."

4

M: S to share crackers

Rachel says nothing but immediately grabs all the crackers that she had on the table.

She holds them to her chest possessively with both hands.

She stares hostilely at Robert.

Robert looks as if he has just gotten a new idea.

He runs around the stove past Rachel into the kitchen.

Randy is still in the kitchen.

6'30" Robert leans partway out of the kitchen into the living room.

He says something pleadingly to Mrs. Tweed that sounds to me like, "More."

Mrs. Tweed seems to be able to understand or interpret whatever Robert says. His verbalizations have increased in number and somewhat in clarity but they are still largely incomprehensible to me.

Eating crackers

Mrs. Tweed gets up from her chair.

She walks around the chair into the kitchen almost resignedly as if this is a great bother to her.

Arranging crackers

28 Everyone is now out of the room except Rachel and me.

Rachel puts her crackers down on the table.

She spreads them out using both hands, very carefully and neatly as if she is trying to make a pretty design.

Playing with lamp switch

29 Suddenly she looks around the room.

Apparently seeing that no one is there to stop her, she reaches up toward the base of the lamp which is on the table.

The lamp has a base which is a china merry-go-round horse.

Rachel stretches way up, with her right hand reaching the switch that turns it on and off.

She switches it but nothing happens. Apparently the lamp is disconnected or broken.

Rachel looks down again as if afraid someone will catch her playing with the lamp.

Watching TV

30 7'00" I look down at the Dictet to make sure that the tape is going around as it should.

As I do this, Randy runs into the room.

He stops abruptly in front of me, staring at my Dictet for a moment.

He looks up at me very curiously.

I do not take the mask down, but look at him briefly.

He walks by me nonchalantly.

He sits down in the wooden rocker by the end of the bunk beds where he had been before.

He gets up abruptly.

He walks by Rachel toward the couch.

He looks at her and makes a silly face as he passes her.

Rachel pays no attention. She is looking at the television.

Randy climbs up on the couch and sits at the end opposite where Robert had been sitting before. This is the end closest to Rachel.

Watching TV

31 Rachel sticks her feet out in front of her again.

She clatters her heels on the floor in a tatoo fashion over and over and over again very wildly.

Hitting heels on floor

32 Mrs. Tweed comes in from the kitchen.

She says in a very exasperated tone, "Rachel, girl....," but she does not finish her sentence. It sounds as if she is about to lose her patience with Rachel, but does not know just what she is going to do about it.

She looks very critically and severely at Rachel.

Staring at Mother

Rachel stares right back at her with just as hard a stare, as if challenging her mother to go on.

Mrs. Tweed does not pursue the issue.

She sits down in the rocker.

She picks up her magazine and begins to read again.

5 M: S to know she disapproves

Climbing on couch w/ Robt. & Randy

33 Rachel hops up from the chair suddenly.

She runs over to the couch.

Robert has come into the room with Mrs. Tweed.

He runs over to sit at his position at the other end of the couch again.

Climbing onto couch w/Robt & Randy

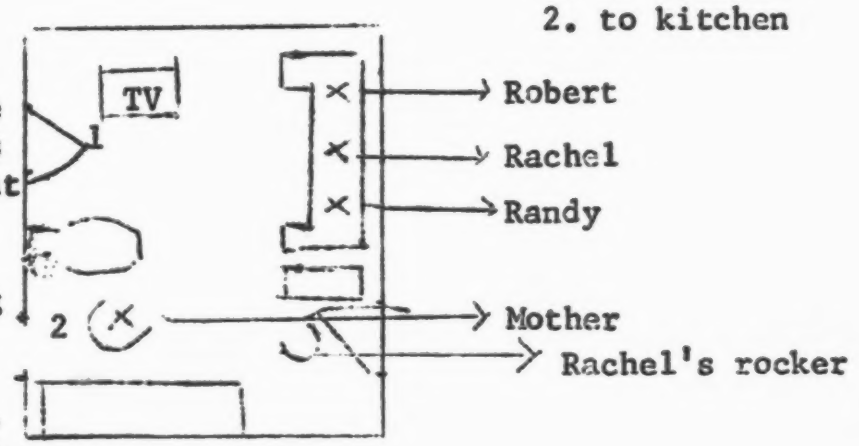
Rachel crawls up onto the couch between Randy and Robert.

1. to bedroom
2. to kitchen

All three children are sitting the same way, with their legs extended straight out in front of them.

They all are holding crackers.

Randy stares at Mrs. Tweed and then at me and back at Mrs. Tweed alternately.



The glance does not seem to have any meaning. He looks at us as if he accepts us both entirely and is just orienting himself to our positions.

Staring at TV

34 7'45" Rachel stares at the television blankly for a few seconds.

Taking off boots & socks

35 She begins to swing her right leg back and forth on the couch. It is still extended fully in front of her.

As she does this, the top of her boot brushes on the edge of the couch.

She continues to do this, wiggling her foot until the boot drops off onto the floor.

Using that foot, which now has just a sock on it, she pushes on the boot of her other foot.

She continues wiggling and pushing with both feet until the second boot also drops off onto the floor.

Rachel does not pay much attention to her effort as she does this. She continues to watch the television.

She pulls one knee up toward her chest reaching down with both hands to take off her sock.

8'15" She takes the other sock off in the same manner.

Taking off boots & socks

She holds onto both socks.

36

She looks up at Mrs. Tweed as if she knows that she is doing something wrong.

Mrs. Tweed looks at her.

She says very severely, "Put them right back on or you'll go to bed." Her words are very measured and emphatic.

Rachel looks right back at her defiantly.

Mrs. Tweed says, "It's too cold for you to have them off. Put them back on." This time her tone is much gentler.

Robert sticks his feet out.

He says very clearly, "I've got mine on." He seems to be very eager to point out the good things he is doing today.

Mrs. Tweed says in a very gentle voice, "Yes, you're a good boy. You've got 'em on."

Checking for Mother's response

6

M: S to put shoes & socks on

Looking at Robt.

37

Robert looks over at Rachel grinning as if to show her how good he is as opposed to the way she is acting.

Rachel looks back at him very coldly.

Robert just grins right back at her.

7

Robert's to know he is a good boy

Rachel looks back at Mrs. Tweed as if to see what is going to happen next.

Checking socks on floor

38

8'55" Rachel drops her socks onto the edge of the couch.

Using both feet she kicks them with one big shove onto the floor.

Checking Randy's response

39

She looks over at Randy as if to see what he is going to do.

Putting

Refusing to put on socks & shoes

40

Mrs. Tweed walks over to the bunk beds.

She reaches on top and picks up the belt she uses to threaten and sometimes hit the children.

She says to Rachel very commandingly, "Get them socks and put them on." She sounds very serious.

Rachel does nothing but stare at her defiantly.

Mrs. Tweed says very sternly again twice, "Get 'em. Get 'em."

Rachel continues to do nothing.

Mrs. Tweed walks over to the couch.

She stands directly in front of Rachel.

She raises her hand which is holding the belt.

She looks as if she is about to hit Rachel quite hard.

Rachel flinches, putting her left hand up in front of her face.

She whines pitifully, "Ma-ma."

Mrs. Tweed lowers her arm to her side.

She bends over.

She picks up the socks off the floor.

She drops them on Rachel's lap.

She straightens up the two boots that Rachel has kicked onto the floor as if getting them ready for Rachel to put on.

She says much more gently, "You put them on, c'mon."

Rachel rubs her eyes with two hands.

She looks reproachfully at Mrs. Tweed.

9'30" Robert sticks his feet out again toward Mrs. Tweed.

He says something quite unclear, but I assume this is again a declaration that he has his shoes on as he should.

Refusing to put shoes & socks on

M: S to put socks & shoes on

Mrs. Tweed glances at him briefly.

She says, "Yes, you've got yours on," in an ingratiating tone as if giving Robert all the praise she can.

Robert just giggles as if very pleased with himself.

Rachel looks very unhappy She makes no move to put on her socks or boots.

Mrs. Tweed walks away from the couch as if she has given up with Rachel.

She goes back over to her chair, still holding the belt.

41 Rachel turns around on the couch.

Matching feet with Robt.

Robert: S to be played footies with

She puts the soles of her feet on the soles of Robert's boots. The children are sitting facing each other with their legs extended and the soles of their feet matched against each other. 8

Robert makes a warning noise like, "Ohh, ohh."

10'00" Rachel gives a very deep chesty cough.

Robert says to Mrs. Tweed something that does not sound very clear.

It sounds mostly like, "Ohhhh," but it seems to me that he is trying to tell Mrs. Tweed that Rachel does not have her shoes on yet.

Mrs. Tweed does nothing but watch the children rather blankly.

42 Rachel begins kicking Robert's legs.

Kicking Robert's legs

Her kicks push Robert's legs sideways.

Robert's efforts to kick back only result in his legs scooting around sideways and off the couch.

Finally Robert's feet are on the floor.

Kicking Robert's legs

He stands up.

He looks toward Rachel as if for direction about what to do next.

Robert: S to be played footies with

43 Rachel sticks her feet off the edge of the couch.

Randy has done nothing but watch during this whole interchange. 9

He wags his feet toward Rachel but says nothing.

He looks quite blank.

Randy: S to have foot wagged at

Rachel scoots down toward the end of the couch.

Getting to Robert's place on couch

She gives Robert a shove which looks as if she is trying to get him away from her. She seems to be trying to get into his position at the end of the couch. 10

10'50" Robert runs across in front of the television.

He climbs up on the big armchair.

He sits holding onto one arm of the chair looking very satisfied.

Robert: S to be run away from

Eating crackers

Rachel drops a cracker on the floor.

She reaches over and picks it up quickly.

Checking Mother's response

44 As she straightens up she looks at Mrs. Tweed as if prepared to meet any challenge.

Mrs. Tweed pays no attention. She is watching television.

Robert yells out brightly to Mrs. Tweed, "Hey, Ma." 11

He indicates across the room in Rachel's direction.

M: S to give crackers to Robert

Mrs. Tweed looks up.

Telling Mother the crackers are hers

45 She says to Rachel, "You got his crackers. Take them over to him," as if this is the only fair way to settle it.

Eating crackers

Watching Robert

Telling Mother the crackers are hers

Rachel holds her crackers to her chest.

She says as if there is a great injustice toward her, "These are mine. Mine."

Robert watches, grinning.

Rachel takes a bite of the cracker as if to settle the issue.

M: S to give crackers to Robert

46

Robert pats the arm of the chair for a moment absently as he scrambles down the front of the chair where he is.

He walks over to the couch.

12

Rachel is now sitting in the position that Robert had been sitting in when he was eating.

Robert: S to let him have diaper

47

Keeping diaper from Robert

On the arm of the chair is a diaper which was folded under Robert's plate when he was eating.

Rachel grabs the diaper as if anticipating what Robert will do.

Robert tries to take it from her.

13

Mrs. Tweed says warningly, "Now you let that alone, Rachel, that's his."

M: S to let diaper alone

Robert grabs the diaper.

He goes across into the big chair where he was sitting.

He spreads the diaper out on the arm of the chair. All of this is done in a very self-righteous manner.

Mrs. Tweed says in a pleased way, "See, he's a nice boy. He doesn't get Mama's chair dirty. That's Mama's good boy."

Robert grabs the diaper off the chair arm.

He scrambles off the chair.

He walks into the bedroom.

Rachel hops down from the couch.

Watching Robert

She runs after Robert as if unwilling to miss anything interesting he might be doing.

Robert runs to the bottom end of the crib.

In the corner of the room is a cedar chest on which some clothes are piled.

He tosses his diaper on top of these clothes.

He seems to be playing a game with Rachel to try to keep the diaper away from her.

48

Hiding in closet

Rachel pays no attention to him.

She runs into the closet.

She stands in the corner, half hidden by clothes, peering at me.

She seems to be hiding from me, and is pretty successful because I do not notice where she is at first.

When I spot her, I continue to watch her as before.

49

Eating crackers

She walks out of the closet into the living room.

She crawls up into the armchair where Robert has been sitting.

She leans back with her feet spread in front of her, her arms on each arm of the chair.

She puts her head back, resting it on the back of the chair, staring up at the ceiling absently.

Staring at the ceiling

She has a part of a cracker in her mouth, which she chews as she stares at the ceiling.

12'40" Robert runs out of the bedroom through the living room into the kitchen.

Rachel continues to stare up at the ceiling not noticing Robert.

50

Refusing to get up for Robert

Robert runs back into the living room.

He stops abruptly in front of the armchair.

14

Robert & M: S to give Robt. his chair

Refusing to get up for Robert

Robt. & M: S to give Robt. his chair

He points to Rachel but looks at his mother as he says, "Ha-ey." This time he does not even seem to try to say anything clearly. It seems more like a general objection.

He grabs at Rachel's arm and begins pulling.

Mrs. Tweed does not look up from her magazine.

Rachel has a huge grin on her face.

She seems very pleased that she seems to have the upper hand.

She says teasingly, "You can't get me up."

51 Mrs. Tweed looks up.

She says very crossly, "Get up and give him his chair." There does not seem to be any question in her mind about whose turn it is to sit in the chair.

Rachel immediately gets off the chair.

Mrs. Tweed says, still very cross, "That's better."

Responding to Mother's command

She looks back down at her magazine.
She gives the impression that everything the children are doing is very annoying to her when it interrupts her reading.

Rachel walks into the bedroom as if pouting over the situation.

She stands at the end of the crib where she is partly hidden from my view.

She picks up the diaper that Robert has tossed on the pile of clothes.

She stands holding it, looking very put-upon and very hurt.

Teasing Robert

52 13'15" Rachel picks up three crackers that are on the cedar chest.

She walks into the living room holding the crackers and the diaper.

M: S to give him diaper 15

Teasing Robt.

As she enters the living room she looks around as if she knows there is about to be an outburst.

Robert immediately says, "Ma ma ma ma," as he gestures toward Rachel.

He acts very helpless.

Ignoring Robert

53 Rachel says disgustedly, "Mama." I cannot make out the rest of her words.

She tosses the diaper disdainfully on the floor.

She gives it a kick with one foot.

Robert hops down from the armchair.

He runs over near Rachel.

He snatches the diaper off the floor.

Rachel pays no attention to him. This seems to be a deliberate ignoring by her.

M: S to give him diaper

Following Mother

54 Mrs. Tweed looks up.

She says vaguely as if she is not really sure what has been going on, "Okay, ya'll are going to get it."

She looks back down at her magazine.

16

M: S & others to know they will get in trouble

Robert runs wildly into the bedroom.

Mrs. Tweed resignedly gets up from her chair.

She follows Robert into the bedroom.

Robert has tossed the diaper up on top of the tall chest at the end of the room by the double bed.

He says excitedly something that sounds very much like, "Up high, up high," gesturing to the diaper, as Mrs. Tweed follows him into the room.

Mrs. Tweed just nods when Robert points to the diaper.

14'00" Rachel follows Mrs. Tweed into the bedroom.

2

Mrs. Tweed reaches up and takes a picture off the top of the chest. It is a painting on a piece of cardboard. On the bottom of the page is a small calendar.

She hands this to Robert.

55 She says to Rachel, "You put your shoes on."

She does not say this with much emphasis, but just as if this is still an unsolved problem that she had been trying to work out earlier.

She herds Robert and Rachel back into the living room.

Randy watches Robert come into the room. He is sitting on the couch.

He says something to Mrs. Tweed as if he were trying to tell her that Robert has something that he is not supposed to have. I cannot hear exactly what he says.

Mrs. Tweed says as if disgusted with the whole situation, "It's all right. I gave it to him so he'll sit down."

She almost stomps over to her rocking chair.

She sits down and picks up her magazine and begins to read again.

Robert sits in the armchair looking at the picture.

Rachel walks over to the couch.

She picks up one boot.

She puts it on one foot, putting her foot in and stamping on the boot.

She repeats this with the other boot.

She does not put her socks on. She puts her boots on as if the idea has just occurred to her.

M: S to put shoes & socks on

Putting on boots

56 Rachel walks across the room to the chair where Robert is sitting.

She leans on the arm of the chair.

Looking at picture w/Robt.

17

Robert: S to have picture explained

She stares in a friendly way curiously at the picture that Robert is looking at.

Eating crackers

She takes a bite of cracker.

She chews the cracker with large chewing motions as she looks at the picture.

14'40" Rachel says something in an informative tone, that I cannot understand as she points to the picture.

Robert points to various parts of the picture one at a time.

He seems to be explaining something but it is incomprehensible to me.

Rachel watches him carefully as he says things.

Looking at picture w/Robert

Randy is sitting on the couch staring at me. For several minutes he has been sitting looking at me very carefully with no particular expression on his face. It is almost as if I just happen to be something on which he catches his eye because I am in his line of vision.

Rachel picks up the picture from Robert's lap.

Eating crackers

With her other hand she puts the cracker up to her mouth.

She takes a bite of cracker.

She continues to chew.

At the same time she says something to Robert that I cannot understand.

Robert says something back to her.

They both point to the picture.

Bringing chair near Robert

57 Rachel walks very purposefully rather rapidly across the floor.

She picks up her folding chair that she has had over by the table next to the couch.

She whirls around fast and starts back toward the armchair where Robert is.

Bringing chair near Robert

As she passes the stove she catches the corner of the chair on the leg of the stove, making a clattering noise.

18 M: S to be careful

Mrs. Tweed looks up as Rachel catches the chair on the leg of the stove.

She says, "Rachel, you better watch it," in a mildly warning tone.

However, she looks right back down at her magazine again. I do not think she even sees what Rachel is doing.

Rachel carries the chair over near Robert.

She plops it down directly in front of the armchair facing it.

Looking at picture with Robert

Mrs. Tweed looks up.

19 M: S & Robert to share

She says, "Can't both of you look at that together?" in an annoyed tone. She is paying practically no attention to what is going on. When there is some sort of commotion, she raises her head and threatens the children without really being aware of the situation.

15'45" Robert grunts as if in reply to Mrs. Tweed.

Rachel pays no attention to her mother.

20 Robert: S to be excluded from looking at picture

Robert picks up the picture.

Mrs. Tweed says directively, Now let her look, Robert," seeming to anticipate the fact that Robert is going to keep the picture from Rachel.

Rachel sits down on the chair she has just placed in front of the armchair.

She seems quite eager to share with Robert.

Robert gets down from the chair when Rachel sits in her chair.

Holding the picture, he walks across the room.

He climbs up on the couch.

Locking at picture w/Robert

58 He looks back at Rachel triumphantly and also as if this is some sort of challenge to her.

Robert: S to be excluded from locking at picture

Claiming armchair

Rachel abruptly gets up from the little folding chair.

She climbs up on the armchair. She sits in the attitude of one who has just staked out her claim somewhere.

She looks defiantly back at Robert.
This seems to be a game they are playing. Nothing is said between the two children but they use their facial expressions to communicate their attitudes toward each other.

Watching Robert & Randy

59

Robert's position on the couch is at the end where he was originally.

Randy is still sitting on the other end of the couch.

Randy lies down on his back on the couch with his head toward Robert.

He reaches up toward Robert.
This is all done as if he is bored and trying to think of something exciting to do next.

He grabs at Robert's picture. His reach is short and he misses the picture.

He arches his back and pushes with his feet. This makes him go closer to Robert farther down the couch.

Rachel sits on her chair across the room quietly watching Robert and Randy.

Randy continues to inch closer and closer to Robert, still reaching for the picture.

16'30" Robert quickly scoots down from the couch still holding the picture.

He walks across the room toward Mrs. Tweed.

As he walks he waves the picture in the air. He seems to wave it as a triumphant gesture to show that Randy has not succeeded in getting the picture.

As Robert approaches, Mrs. Tweed pays no attention. She continues to read her True Love magazine.

Robert makes a circle at the end of the room.

He walks back past the stove and Mrs. Tweed.

Watching Robert & Randy

60

He approaches Rachel in the armchair.

He stops in front of the chair.

Resisting Robert

He hits Rachel's leg several times, saying very clearly, "Move, move."

Rachel makes no move to get out of his way. She seems to be enjoying the advantage her physical size gives her over Robert.

Randy walks by me into the bedroom.

17'00" Robert stops hitting Rachel.

He turns and walks resignedly over toward the couch.

Robert: S to move

He climbs up on the couch.

He sits staring at his picture interestedly.

Balancing feet

61

Rachel scoots forward so that her feet come down over the edge of the chair.

She places them very carefully with full concentration so that the bottoms of her feet are right on the seat of the folding chair which is in front of the armchair.

She sits that way for a few seconds, balancing carefully.

Staring at observer

62

Robert hops down from the couch all of a sudden.

Staring at Observer

He runs past me into the bedroom where Randy is.

Rachel looks up.

Her attention wanders and she looks around the room.

Her glance rests on me.

She sits staring at me blankly for several seconds.

I continue to watch her, not ignoring her but not giving her any new expressions.

63

Robert calls out from the bedroom, "Mama Mama." I cannot tell what Randy and Robert are doing in there.

Robert walks out of the bedroom.

He goes over to Mrs. Tweed.

He says something to her. I assume this is referring to what Randy is doing though I cannot understand Robert's words.

Watching Randy

Rachel abruptly gets up.

She climbs off the chair.

She runs into the bedroom after Randy and Robert.

Randy is playing with the plastic front of the clock radio on the dresser.

Rachel leans on the dresser watching Randy.

The plastic part which covers the clock, is partly falling out of place.

Randy is trying to push it back into place.

Saying Randy did it

64

When Rachel sees what Randy is doing she says, "Uh-oh," in a long drawn out sound with the first syllable higher than the second. She sounds as if this is something which the children have been forbidden to play with and now Randy has broken it.

Saying Randy did it

Rachel says worriedly, "He tore it up. He tore it up," emphasizing the "he" to indicate that Randy is the one that is being bad.

18'05" Mrs. Tweed sticks her head in the room.

She calls warningly, "Don't be foolin' with that." She acts as if possibly this has been broken before.

Watching Randy

Randy carefully holds the plastic part up to the front of the radio.

He picks up a comb from the bureau with his right hand.

He taps around the edges of the plastic trying to push it into place.

He manages to make the plastic piece stay up by itself.

Breaking away from Randy

65

He backs off away from the dresser.

As he does so he puts his right hand on Rachel's left arm as if to make her back up too.

Rachel breaks free from his hold.

22 Randy: S to be pushed back

Playing with piece of radio

66

She scoots over to the place where Randy has been standing.

She reaches up quickly and pulls the plastic off the radio that Randy has just carefully put on.

23 Randy: S to stop

Randy breaks out in a loud, urgent voice, "Rachel," as if greatly objecting to this.

Rachel holds the plastic piece up to the front of the radio.

She hits it two times hard with her fist.

24 Randy: S to put piece up

The plastic piece falls down onto the dresser again.

Randy says in a very bossy way, "Now, girl, you put that right back up." This sounds like an exact imitation of what Mrs. Tweed has said at various times.

67 Watching Randy

Randy impatiently pushes Rachel out of the way.

He puts the plastic piece in front of the radio.

He taps it with the comb as he has done before.

This time the piece does not stay up.

Randy drops the comb on the bureau in disgust.

Randy: S to put piece up

68 Going into living room

He grabs Rachel by the arm.

He half drags her out of the room as he says urgently, "C'mon."

They go into the living room together.

25 Randy: S to go to the living room

69 Watching Randy

Randy walks over to Mrs. Tweed.

He says to her sweetly, "Mama, can I go outside and play?"

Mrs. Tweed says firmly, "No!"

Randy whines, "Why?"

Mrs. Tweed explains more gently, "Because it's too cool out there."

19'00" Robert is sitting on the couch where Randy had been sitting.

He tosses a cracker on the floor.

Mrs. Tweed looks at him for a moment uncertainly.

She says, "Randy, pick up that cracker."

Randy obediently picks up the cracker.

He begins to eat it.

Rachel watches for a moment.

70 Watching TV

She turns and walks across the room.

She sits down in the wooden rocking chair where Randy had been sitting earlier, near the end of the bunk beds.

Watching TV

She stares at the television, tapping one foot on the floor.

Her expression is completely blank.

71

19'35" Robert climbs down from the couch.

He walks toward the bunk beds.

As he walks he trips on the floor and falls down.

He picks himself up calmly.

He walks over to Mrs. Tweed.

He has the hat which he had had on earlier but which got left on the couch when he went into the bedroom.

He indicates the top bunk of the beds with the hand which has the hat in it and says something to Mrs. Tweed.

Watching Robert & Randy

Mrs. Tweed looks up from her reading.

She looks where Robert is pointing.

She says as if annoyed at the interruption, "Throw it up there. Throw it up there, Robert."

He throws the hat, using a lot of effort. The hat goes about two feet up in the air and falls on the bottom bunk.

Laughing at Robert

Randy laughs uproariously.

72

Rachel also laughs as Robert misses with the hat.

Randy pounces on the hat.

He throws it up on the top bunk.

Robert falls onto the bottom bunk.

He looks like he might be crying, but I do not think he really is.

20'20" Randy reaches onto the top bunk.

He picks up the belt that Mrs. Tweed has put back up on it earlier.

He says braggingly, "I got the belt. I got the belt."

Showing Randy where hat is

73 The hat that Randy threw onto the top bunk has fallen behind the bunk down onto the floor.

Rachel yells urgently, "Randy, Randy," as she points to the hat on the floor.

Randy pounces onto the bed.

26 Randy: S to know he hears

He grabs the hat from the floor.

He hands it to Robert.

Robert, in great exaggerated motions, leans back, sticks his right hand with the hat on it way out behind him, and says, "One, two, three," very clearly.

He lets go of the hat on "three."

The motion of tossing the cap so hard throws him onto the bed.

The hat goes way up in the air, hits the top bunk, and falls back to the floor again.

Mrs. Tweed laughs.

She says proudly, "You can count, can't you, Robert?" She laughs as she says this.

Watching Robert & Randy

Laughing at Robt.

74 Rachel and Randy break into hysterical laughter.

Playing hide & seek with Robert & Randy

75 21'00" Rachel yells out, "Robby, Robby," as if in encouragement to Robert.

27 Robt: S to be chased

Rachel gets up from the chair.

She runs across the room.

Robert chases her, laughing.

Rachel waves her hands in the air yelling in mock terror at Robert, "Haa!"

She falls down on the floor next to the armchair, laughing.

28

Randy runs over to Rachel.

Robert turns and goes back to the other end of the room.

Randy and Rachel go running into the bedroom.

I follow the children into the bedroom.

They hide near the end of the crib by the cedar chest.

Randy looks up at me.

He shakes his head and puts his finger up to his mouth as he whispers, "Don't tell them where we are. Don't tell them where we are."

I nod my head but do not say anything.

I continue to observe.

Rachel crawls up onto the cedar chest in the corner.

Randy stands holding the belt.

Randy yells out some words that I cannot understand. They seem to be as "clues" for Robert in the other room.

Rachel leans forward, resting her elbows on the end of the crib.

She leans into the crib and gives a loud screaming noise.

Vera is still sleeping in the crib.

She does not stir during all of this.

Robert runs into the room.

He waves his hands at Randy and Rachel, presumably to let them know that he sees them.

22'50" Robert runs up and stands directly in front of me.

He stares up at me as I dictate into the Stenomask.

I look at him but do not say anything.

Randy and Rachel run into the living room, hitting each other and giggling in a silly way as they go.

They run through and into the kitchen.

I follow the children.

I do not see Randy and Rachel anywhere as I enter the kitchen.

This is a real hide-and-seek game they are playing with Robert and I do not seem to be part of it except that I am following.

Robert runs in after me into the kitchen.

Rachel is hiding down next to the cabinet and the washing machine.

Randy is next to her.

Robert runs into the room and straight over to them.

Mrs. Tweed follows Robert.

She says to the children angrily, "You come on out now."

Randy bursts out of his hiding place all of a sudden.

He yells with great urgency in his voice, "I gotta pee, I gotta pee!"

Robert yells, "Me too, me too!"

They run into the living room.

Mrs. Tweed says, "Now you get outside." She half pushes them out the front door.

As Randy and Robert get out the front door, Mrs. Tweed says, "You go on out yonder. You see that lady sitting in the car? She's gonna stare at you."

Randy and Robert run out the porch and out into the yard.

Mrs. Tweed is referring to Dikkie who is sitting in the car waiting for me.

Playing hide & seek w/ Robt. & Randy

29

Robt. & Randy: S to play hiding game

M: S & other to stop

76

Telling Mother she has to go to bathroom too

Telling Mother she has to go to bathroom too

30

M: S to wait

Rachel remains behind in the house.

She says to Mrs. Tweed, "I gotta go too."

Mrs. Tweed says, "You wait. Little girls don't go with little boys."

Rachel looks at her mother as if slightly confused by this.

I get the distinct impression that maybe Mrs. Tweed does not take the care to worry about which children are going to the bathroom with which others all the time.

Mrs. Tweed takes Rachel's hands and leads her back into the house.

Mrs. Tweed turns and calls over her shoulder, "Boy, you better be back in here in a minute." This seems to be addressed to Randy.

77

Playing with picture

Rachel goes over and sits on the couch.

23'30" Rachel leans back, lying on her back on the couch with her head propped up on the back of the couch.

She picks up the picture that Robert had been playing with earlier.

She puts it over her face.

Mrs. Tweed goes into the kitchen.

She calls out the back door, "C'mon, c'mon," presumably to the boys in the yard.

Rachel turns to me.

She says, "Da da da da da."

She puts the picture back over her face.

Though this is intended for my benefit, she seems to do it mostly because I am the only one in the room rather than because I am a stranger in this situation.

24'00" Rachel draws her knees up to her chest.

Playing with picture

She puts the picture back over her face.

She kicks both feet up in the air once.

She tosses the picture up into the air; it falls on the floor.

She kicks once more with her legs.

She rolls over onto her stomach.

She slides off the couch with her arms still in front of her.

She ends up on her knees on the floor in front of the couch. Her feet are resting on the picture.

She pushes them out behind her and then back again several times sliding the picture back and forth across the floor as she does so. She seems totally absorbed in her play.

Robert comes back into the room. 31 Robt.: S not to have picture

He walks over to Rachel.

Watching Robert

78 He grabs the picture away from her.

He picks up a pencil that was on the couch next to Rachel.

He walks around Rachel.

He crawls up onto the couch.

Holding the pencil upside down he goes through motions as if he were coloring on the picture with the eraser end of the pencil which has no eraser on it. He concentrates hard on this.

Rachel comes over to Robert. 32 Robt.: S to be ignored

She sits down on the floor and watches Robert contentedly as he plays with the picture.

Trying to get Robert's attention

79 She reaches up with her fist.

She hits the cardboard picture once lightly as if trying to get Robert to pay attention to her.

Robert: S to be ignored

Trying to get Robert's attention

She laughs as if this has been quite silly and very amusing to her.

Robert does not respond.

Randy enters the room from outside.

Rachel reaches up and smacks Robert very hard.

Mrs. Tweed looks up.

33 M: S to leave him alone

She says, "Uh-uh, don't do that," in a warning tone to Rachel.

She continues, "Rachel, leave him alone."

Randy says to his mother, "Ma." This does not seem to have any meaning except to call Mrs. Tweed's attention to the fact that Randy is now in the room.

Mrs. Tweed says, "Did you go to the bathroom?"

Randy indicates the fly of his pants, which is zipped up.

He nods.

Mrs. Tweed says, "Okay," as if this answers the question.

80 Looking at lamp

Rachel gets up from the floor.

She walks over to the lamp at one end of the couch.

She peers curiously up at the base of the lamp.

I have no idea what she is looking at.

81 Lying on couch

She goes back around to the couch.

She buries her face in the couch. I cannot tell at all what she is thinking or how she is doing this. She does not seem to have very much expression on her face.

82

Randy walks into the bedroom.

He sits down on the floor.

Following Randy to bedroom

Rachel gets up.

She follows Randy into the bedroom.

Going in & out of closet

83 She goes into the closet in the bedroom.

She comes back out of the closet immediately.

84 Randy lies down on the floor with his head toward the end where the window is. His expression is sober.

His feet are toward the closet where Rachel is.

Rachel lies down next to Randy on the floor in the same position.

Responding to Robert

85 Robert walks into the room.

He stoops down on the floor.

He begins to hit both children, Randy and Rachel.

All three children laugh.

Playing with Randy

Randy swivels around on the floor so his feet are now on top of Rachel's stomach.

Robert goes back into the living room suddenly.

26'25" Both Randy and Rachel begin to scoot down to the end of the room pushing with their feet, headfirst.

When they get to the end, they put their feet up on the bed.

They push with their feet on the bed and then on the wall. This turns them around.

They head back up the room using their feet pushing on the floor but going headfirst, all this time lying on their backs on the floor. They do this exactly together.

They are making noises like, "Da da da da da da." This just seems to be noise for the sake of noise.

Randy: S to be played with

34

Robert: S & Randy to be teased

35

Randy begins to rotate in place on the floor pushing with his feet and turning around. When his feet encounter Rachel he just pushes them on her almost as if he were walking over her.

Rachel seems to voice no objection to this.

She merely giggles.

Both children are making quite a bit of noise, without really saying any words.

26'45" Both children continue to do this.

Rachel peers under the bed, not at anything particular.

She rolls back onto her back.

She lies there making random noises again.

Playing with Randy

86

27'05" All of a sudden, Rachel gets abruptly up to her feet.

She walks into the living room.

Randy follows her immediately.

Robert is lying on the floor in the living room.

Rachel walks across him, straddling him with one foot on each side and edging carefully over him.

Robert laughs.

Walking over Robert

36

Robt.: S to know he sees

Randy: S to be played with

37

Mrs. Tweed stands up from her chair.

She says to all the children, "You're gonna fall on that stove. All right," in an "I told you so" voice, though nothing has happened yet.

She says warningly to Randy, "Don't you trip her and make her fall into the stove."

M: S & others be careful

Playing with Randy

27'30" Rachel lies down on the floor.

Randy leans on top of her as he kneels next to her.

Playing w/Randy

He holds Rachel's arms pinned down on either side of her.

He laughs teasingly.

Rachel calls out feebly, but really laughing, "Mama Mama."

Rachel gives Randy a hard kick in the leg.

Randy drops something out of his pocket.

Rachel kicks Randy again.

Randy lets go of Rachel.

Randy: S to be played with

87

Robert walks over to the end of the room.

He climbs on the rungs at the end of the bunk.

Randy follows Robert to the beds.

Mrs. Tweed all of a sudden says angrily, "He's fixin' to git a good spankin' that's what he's fixin' to git," referring to Robert.

Watching Mother & Robert

She marches over to Robert.

She grabs him up very roughly and turns him around.

She smacks him hard four times on his bottom.

She says furiously, "I'm sick of his pullin' on my curtains."

She tosses Robert onto the bottom bunk.

As she does so she says very angrily, "You git up there and behave."

She says to Randy, "You're fixin' to git that too."

Robert cries softly as he lies on the bed.

88

28'20" The telephone rings once.

No one moves but Randy and Rachel stop what they are doing and listen.

Mrs. Tweed is sitting in the rocking chair now.

She also listens carefully.

The ring is a single one with a long pause after it and then another single ring.

Mrs. Tweed gets up and answers the phone.

Listening to telephone

Smiling at Randy

89

Randy and Rachel both smile at each other as if pleased when the phone rings the second time.

38

Randy: S to be smiled at

90

Rachel lies down on the floor on her stomach.

She begins to yell for no particular reason that I can see.

39

M: S to be quiet

Mrs. Tweed stops talking on the phone.

She calls out warningly to Rachel, "Rachel, you stop that. I'm gonna have to git you."

She turns back to the phone and says apologetically into the phone, "You hear that? I'm gonna have to git that girl." She is smiling as she says it.

She seems quite pleased to be talking on the phone.

Yelling on floor

91

Rachel gets up from the floor.

She walks over near the bunk beds.

She picks up the cardboard picture which has somehow gotten over there.

29'00" Rachel sits down on the floor near the bunk.

40

Robert: S to be hit

Holding picture

92

She holds the picture as she sits and watches Robert.

Robert begins to climb off the bed.

Rachel calls out sharply, "You git up there on the bed."

Telling Robert to get on bed

Robert grabs the picture away from her.

Robert hits Rachel on top of the head with the picture several times. This seems rather playful.

93

Rachel gets up from the floor.

She walks around and sits down in the small rocking chair at the end of the bed.

29'40" She turns and crawls up onto the chair with her feet on the seat of the chair.

This is very precarious since this is a rocking chair, but the danger does not seem to bother her.

She looks as if she has done it before.

She stands upright in the chair.

She takes an ashtray off the top of the phone book which is on the television in that corner.

She sets the ashtray down.

Exploring things on top of TV

94

She picks up a small object which I discover later is a small wood screw.

She puts it in her mouth.

Holding wood screw in mouth

95

She picks up a paring knife which is on top of the television.

Holding the handle of the knife, she sticks the point in the wood crossbar at the end of the bed. She concentrates hard on this.

She drops the screw on the floor from her mouth.

Scraping bed with knife

She twists the knife around, turning it as if she is trying to make a hole in the wood at the bottom of the bed. This scratches some of the finish off the bed.

30'25" She stoops in the chair.

She reaches down on the floor.

She picks up the screw and puts it in her mouth.

She sticks the point of the knife into the wooden part of the bed again.

She pounds the handle part with her fist.

This is not very effective.

She reaches on top of the television.

She picks up the ashtray.

She pounds the handle of the knife with that, trying to pound the knife into the wooden bed.

The knife sticks in the bed by itself when she lets go.

She looks pleased.

Randy is sitting in the rocking chair now where Mrs. Tweed had been sitting before the phone rang.

30'55" Using both hands holding the knife handle, Rachel scrapes with the knife on the bottom of the bed.

Scraping bed with knife

41

M & Robt.: S not to have knife

Rachel begins to pound the knife hard.

Mrs. Tweed leans over to see what Rachel is doing.

She says, "Rachel huh-uh," absently as she continues to talk on the phone.

She takes Randy's arm and she says directively, "Go take that away from Rachel."

Randy gets up from his chair.

He goes over to Rachel.

Randy grabs the knife away from Rachel roughly.

He says, "You can't have this," in an imitation of Mrs. Tweed.

He sticks the knife into the end of the bed and begins hitting it also.

42

Mrs. Tweed says angrily, "You give me that!" grabbing the knife from Randy.

Randy holds onto it as Mrs. Tweed tries to grab it.

Mrs. Tweed says in a very angry disgusted voice, "I'll git her and you both." She says this in a very nasty way to Randy as if she resents the fact that he is interrupting her phone conversation.

M: S & Randy to know she will get them

Rachel gets up from the chair.

Holding wood screw in mouth

She is holding the screw. She puts it back into her mouth.

Scraping bed with knife

31'40" Rachel walks around to the bunk bed.

She leans on the bed chewing the screw and idly watching Mrs. Tweed.

96 Randy climbs up on the bed with Rachel. 43

Playing w/Randy

He leans on her.

They both giggle.

Randy: S to be teased

He gets off the bed and goes across the room.

97 Rachel kicks off one of her boots using the other to push it off. 44

Kicking off shoes

M: S to be spanked

98 Mrs. Tweed all of a sudden looks at Rachel.

She looks very irritated and angry.

She sits down on the bed, still holding the phone and still listening to the person talking.

Crying at Mother's spanking

She grabs Rachel around her waist with her free hand.

She turns her over onto her stomach on the bed.

She spanks Rachel hard five or six times.

Rachel begins to cry.

At this point the tape runs out. I decide to stop observing since it seems that Mrs. Tweed is going to be on the phone a long while.

Total observation time: 32'35"

I waved good-bye to Mrs. Tweed. She nodded at my wave. I said good-bye to the children and left.

Time in the home approximately 40 minutes.